ओ३म्

जिज्ञासु—उपहरण-माला । प्रथम उपहार-मणि ।

आर्य्यपथिक

लेखराम

मुन्शीराम जिज्ञासु

द्वारा

सम्पादित

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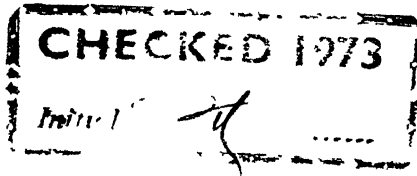
सं० १९८१ वि० दयानन्दाब्द, ३३ सं० १९८१ वि०

प्रथमावृत्ति २००० प्रति ।

मूल्य प्रति पुस्तक, एक रुपया ।

गुरुकुल यन्त्रालय काङ्गड़ी में श्री लाला नन्दलाल द्वारा मुद्रित तथा प्रकाशित ।

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प्रस्तावना ।

इस ग्रंथ का नाम आख्यायिका मैं रख नहीं सक्ता और नाहीं अपने में ग्रंथ-कर्त्ता बनने की योग्यता समझता हूं । आगे के पृष्ठों में पाठकों के लिए भाषा के लालित्य तथा विचारों के पांडित्य को खोजना एक निष्फल परिश्रम होगा । मैं शुष्क, ऐतिहासिक होने का भी अभिमान नहीं कर सक्ता, क्योंकि जिस जीवन के साथ मेरा ज्वलन्त सम्बन्ध रह चुका है, और जो घटनाएं, स्मरण करने पर, अब भी जागृत अवस्था में मेरे सामने ज्यों की त्यों खड़ी हो जाती हैं उनका वर्णन करते हुए तीव्र से तीव्र तर्क भी परास्त हो जाता है ।

इस लिए इस पुस्तक को एक पवित्र जीवन के चरणों में कृतज्ञता की भेंट-मात्र समझिए ।

उपरोक्त कृतज्ञता का ऋण चुकाने में इतना विलंब हो गया था कि मुझे इस पुस्तक को बहुत ही अल्प समय में समाप्त करना [illegible] । इस कारण न केवल यही कि बहुत से प्रूफ़ स्वयम् नहीं देख सका (जिस से छापे की अशुद्धियां रह गईं) प्रत्युत बहुत सी एक ही प्रकार की घटनाओं में से यह निश्चय करने का कार्य भी कठिन होगया कि किन को स्थान दिया जाय और किन को किसी आने वाले समय के लिए

रख छोड़ा जाय । मैं इन विविध त्रुटियों के लिए केवल यही आशा कर सकता हूं कि धर्मवीर लेखराम के जीवन से जो शिक्षा मिलती है, उस का उज्वल प्रकाश इन त्रुटियों की ओर कोई दृष्टि ही न जाने देगा। यदि इस ग्रंथ की द्वितीयावृत्ति की आवश्यकता हुई तो इन तथा अन्य त्रुटियों को दूर करने का प्रयत्न करूंगा।

अन्त में मैं आर्य-पथिक के चचा श्री गंडाराम जी, उनके पुराने उस्ताद मुंशी तुलसीदास जी, आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा पंजाब के अधिकारी गण तथा अन्यान्य आर्य-भाइयों को धन्यवाद देता हूं जिन्होंने पंडित लेखराम के जीवन संबंधी पत्र व्यवहार तथा अन्य लेख मेरे हवाले करने में तनिक भी संकोच नहीं किया।

मुन्शीराम जिज्ञासु

गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय, कांगड़ी,
९ मार्गशीर्ष, १९७१ वि०

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आर्य्य पथिक लेखराम

का

जीवन वृत्तान्त ।

आर्य्यसमाज के परिमित चक्र में तो कोई ही ऐसा बेपरवा आलसी होगा जो आर्य्य पथिक के नाम तथा काम से परिचित न हो, किन्तु आर्य्यसमाज से बाहिर भी करोड़ों मनुष्यों ने लेखराम का नाम सुना है। वीर लेखराम के जीवन की अन्तिम घटना यदि ऐसी क्षुब्ध न होती तो सम्भव था कि उन की अर्थी के साथ ३० सहस्र के स्थान में तीन सहस्र जन संख्या भी न होती, ऐसी अवस्था में सम्भव है कि आर्य्य समाज की परिधि से बाहर उस को जानने वाले भी कम होते; किन्तु फिर भी उस के जीवन में ऐसी विचित्र घटनाओं का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ है जिन से उस का जीवन वृत्तान्त सर्व्व साधारण के लाभार्थ प्रकाशित करने की आवश्यकता होती।

जन्मस्थान ।

जन्मभूमि को जननी कहना कुछ अनुचित नहीं क्योंकि जिस प्रकार गर्भ में स्थित सन्तान पर माता के गुण,कर्म तथा स्वभाव के संस्कार पड़ते हैं वैसे ही जन्म-भूमि के जल, वायु तथा प्राकृतिक दृश्यों का भी आश्चर्य्य जनक प्रभाव मनुष्य के जीवन पर पड़ता है । लेखराम का जन्म एक ऐसे स्थान में हुवा जहां का जल वायु पुष्टिकारक तथा जहां के बाह्य दृश्य मन को उत्साहित करने वाले थे । पंजाब में झेलम का ज़िला जानदार घोड़ियां उत्पन्न करने वाले धन्नी प्रान्त की वर्ली हद्द पर स्थित है, उस में चकवाल की तहसील प्रसिद्ध है । ख़ास चकवाल उप नगर से आठ कोस पूर्व की ओर ऊंची सतह पर सैदपुर (सय्यदपुर) नामी एक ग्राम है । इस ग्राम के तीनों ओर कस अर्थात् बरसाती नदियां बहती हैं । ग्राम की पूर्वी सीमा वाली नदी का नाम काशी है । इस नदी का श्रोत रामहलावां नामी पहाड़ी से आरम्भ होता है, जिस के विषय में प्रसिद्ध लोकोक्ति है कि वनवास के समय पाण्डव कुछ काल तक इस स्थान में खेती कर के दिन विताते रहे । रामहलावां पहाड़ी हिन्दुओं के प्रसिद्ध तीर्थ कटाक्षराज के पास ही है, इसी कारण नदी का नाम काशी पड़ा होगा । दूसरी नदी का नाम सुर है जिसे पण्डित लेखराम जी 'सरस्वती' का अपभ्रंश बत-

लाया करते थे। इस नदी का श्रोत "करङ्गली" नामी पहाड़ी से निकलता है और सय्यपुर के दो ओर होता हुवा काशी से जा मिलता है। दक्षिण और पूरब के कोने की ओर बराबर एक हरी भरी गिरमाला जाती है जिसका नाम "दरेगश" और "दल जब्बा" है। इस ग्राम की आवादी ३०० घरों से अधिक न थी, किन्तु ग्राम निवासी प्रायः खाते पीते खुशहाल थे। सिक्खों के राज्य में इस ग्राम की ऊंचाई पर एक पहाड़ी गढ़ भी था, जिसे सर्दार उत्तमसिंह आहलूवालिया ने बनवाया था। उस गढ़ के एक दो बुर्जों के अब चिन्ह मात्र ही शेष रह गए हैं, बाकी सब कुछ बरसाती नदीयों की भेंट हो चुका है।

वंशावलि।

यद्यपि पण्डित लेखराम का जन्म सय्यदपुर में हुवा तथापि उन का वंश पहिले पोठोवार का निवासी था। रावलपिंडी का ज़िला पोठोवार का गढ़ है, उस के कहूटा नामी ग्राम में लेखराम के पुरुषा निवास करते थे। कहूटा भी प्राकृतिक दृश्यों से शून्य स्थान नहीं है किन्तु उस का वर्णन इस समय करने की आवश्यक्ता नहीं। यहां इतना लिखना ही पर्य्याप्त है

कि लेखराम के दादा महता नारायणसिंह के पिता पहिले पहिल पोठोवार से अपने ससुराल के ग्राम सैय्यदपुर में आ बसे थे। उन के दो पुत्र थे जिन में एक नारायणसिंह थे। नारायणहिं के दो पुत्र उत्पन्न हुवे; बड़े का नाम महता तारासिंह और छोटे का नाम महता गण्डाराम जो पेशावर पुलिस में डेपुटी इन्सपेक्टर थे और अब पेन्शन लेकर रावलपिन्डी में निवास करते हैं। बड़े महता तारासिंह के घर तीन पुत्र तथा एक पुत्री उत्पन्न हुए। सब से बड़े का नाम लेखराम, दूसरे का तोताराम और तीसरे का वालकराम रक्खा गया। पुत्री सब से छोटी थी जिस का नाम मायावन्ती रक्खा गया था। लेखराम वर्तमान जाति भेद के विचार से ब्राह्मण थे इतना लिखना ही काफ़ी था; इस से अधिक आन्दोलन की इस समय, जब कि वैदिक वर्ण व्यवस्था के पुनर्जीवित करने का विचार हो रहा है कुछ भी आवश्यकता नहीं, फिर भी इस विषय का विशेष वृत्त मनोरञ्जक ही होगा।

पैत्रिक संस्कारों का प्रभाव।

लेखराम के प्रपितामह का नाम "प्रधान" था। यह शाण्डिल्य गोत्रज सारस्वत ब्राह्मण कुल में से एक साधारण पु-

रुघ थे । इन के विषय में कुछ विशेष हाल मालूम नहीं हुवे परन्तु आर्य्य पथिक के दादा नारायणसिंह के जीवन पर एक दृष्टि अवश्य डालने की आवश्यकता है, क्योंकि लेखराम के जीवन में बहुत सी घटनाएं ऐसी उपस्थित हुई हैं जिन का गुह्यरहस्य पैत्रिक संस्कारों के ज्ञान बिना प्रकाशित नहीं किया जा सकता। नारायण के साथ सिंह का योग ही सिद्ध करता है कि परशुराम की तरह यह भी हर समय कहने को तय्यार रहते थे कि–"केवल द्विज कर जानेस मं हीं । मैं जस विप्र सुनाऊं तोहीं। " हम ऊपर लिख चुके हैं कि सय्यदपुर में सर्दार उत्तमसिंह ने सब से पहिले गढ़ बनाया था। उन के पश्चात् यहां के हाकिम सर्दार कान्हसिंह मजीठिया हुवे, जिन के यहां नारायणसिंह ने घोड़ चढ़ों (सवारों) में नौकरी कर ली। नारायणसिंह बड़े दृढ़ पुरुष थे। उन का शरीर बलिष्ट तथा हाथ पैर खुले थे। उनकी बाहादुरी के कारण सर्दार कान्हसिंह इन्हें बहुत माननीय समझते थे और प्रायः भोजन अपने साथ ही कराया करते थे। पेशावर में एक बार सर्दार कान्हसिंह के साथ पठानों के सामने युद्ध में खड़े हुवे थे जहां इन को बड़ा प्रबल घाव लगा। बन्दूक की गोली मुंह में लगकर दहने कान के पास होती हुई गर्दन में से बाहिर निकल गई, किंतु बहादुर नारायणसिंह ने मुख पर मलिनता तक को आने न दिया। जब निरोग हुवे तो सर्दार साहेब ने सोने के कड़ों की जोड़ी

देकर उनका मान किया। इस के पश्चत् भी कई लड़ाइयों में हाथ दिखा कर इन्होंने सिक्खों की नौकरी छोड़दी। इन के जीवन की एक और विचित्र घटना यह वर्णन के योग्य है कि जब ब्रटिश राजशासन के स्थापन होने पर प्रजा से हथियार लेलिये गए तो नारायणसिंह ने अपने हाथसे हथियार रखने को अपमान समझा और "पुंच्छ" के राज्य में जाकर अपने हथियारों को स्वयम् बेच दिया। हम आगे चलकर लेखराम के जीवन में अपने पितामह के दृढ़ सङ्कल्पों का प्रभाव देखेंगे। अपने बड़े पुत्र तारा सिंह के विवाह के पश्चात्, जो सम्वत् १६१२ में हुआ, नाराणसिंह कश्मीर के सर्दारहाड़ासिंह जी के यहां कोठारी नियत होकर चले गए और वहां से लौटकर उन का देहान्त सम्वत् १६२५ में सय्यदपुर ग्राम के अन्दर हुआ।

नारायणसिंह के छोटे भाई श्यामसिंह थे। यह बाल ब्रह्मचारी ही रहे और सिक्खों के राज्य की समाप्ति पर साधु होकर विचरते रहे। इन का देहान्त सम्वत् १६२८ विक्रमी में हुवा जबलेखराम कुमारावस्था से आगे पगधरने लगे थे और यदि हम यह अनुमान करें, कि लेखराम के आगामी धार्मीक जीवन पर इन के दृष्टान्त का कुछ प्रभाव पड़ा तो कुछ अनुचित न होगा।

जन्म तथा बाल्यावस्था।

लेखराम का जन्म ८ चैत्र सं० १९१५ वि० को शुक्र के दिन सइय्यदपुर ग्राम में हुवा। छः वर्षकी आयु में ही इनको देहाती मदरसे में उर्दू फ़ारसी पढ़ने के लिये भेजा गया। पञ्जाब में चिरकाल से फ़ारसी का राज्य हो चुका था। खालसा पन्थ के राजशासन से पहिले लाहौर मुसलमान राजप्रतिनिधियों का गढ़ था। कई समयों में दिल्ली के बादशाह स्वयम् लाहौर में निवास किया करते थे। न्यायालयों का सर्व काम हिंदू राजकर्म्मचारी भी फ़ारसी में ही किया करते थे। देवनागरी अक्षरोंका किञ्चिन्मात्रभी प्रचार न था, और होता कैसे जब सरकारी नौकरी से बढ़ कर कोई मान्य का स्थान न समझा जाता था और सरकारी नौकरी में उन्नति प्राप्तकरने के लिये आवश्यक था कि फ़ारसी भाषा में उत्तम योग्यता सम्पादन की जावे। उन दिनों ५) मासिक पाने वाला घाट का मुहर्रिर भी अपने आप को "अहले क़लम" कह कर उपजकी लेता था और लाखोंपति साहूकारों तथा सैकड़ों की मालगुज़ारी भुक्ताने वाले ज़मींदारों को अपनी प्रजा समझता था। ऐसे समय में एक ब्राह्मण कुलोत्पन्न बालक के लिये भी देवनागरी लिपि सिखाने और संस्कृत भाषा पढ़ाने का विचार किस के दिल में उत्पन्न हो सकता था? किन्तु फिर भी मालूम होता है कि

लेखराम के हृदय में अपने धर्म्म के दृढ़ संस्कार छुटपन से ही स्थिर हो चुके थे। अपने धर्मकी कथाएं उन्हों ने कहां से सुनीं और उन पर दृढ़ता कैसे हुई, इस का कुछ पता नहीं चलता; किन्तु यह स्पष्ट है कि लेखराम के चित्त पर धाम्मिक घटनाओं का प्रभाव बहुत शीघ्र पड़ा करता था।

अभी अक्षराभ्यास ही हुवा था कि शिक्षाविभाग का चीफ़ मुहर्रिर परीक्षा लेने को आया और लेखराम की हाज़िर जवाबी से ऐसा प्रसन्न हुवा कि उसे विशेष पारितोषिक का पात्र समझा। सं० १९२६ में, जब लेखराम की आयु ११ वर्ष की थी, उस के चचा गण्डाराम पेशावर पुलिस में एक स्थिर स्थान पर नियत होगये और उन्होंने लेखराम को अपने पास बुला लिया। इस स्थान में लेखराम को कई अध्यापकों के पास पढ़ने के लिये जाना पड़ा। अध्यापक यतः मुसलमान होते थे इस लिए मुसलमानी मत के संस्कार लड़के के दिल पर बैठाने का प्रयत्न करते थे परन्तु लेखराम की शङ्काओं से इतने तङ्ग आजाते थे कि पढ़ाने से जवाब दे कर चल देते। फिर लेखराम के चचा पेशावर से बाहिर के थानों में बदल गये; लेखराम भी उन के साथ गया। इस समय की एक घटना लेखराम के भविष्यत जीवन का परिचय देती है। अपनी चची को एकादशी का व्रत् बड़ी श्रद्धा से रखते देख कर आपने भी उपवास करने का दृढ़ संकल्प कर लिया। चची ने यह कह कर समझाया कि बच्चे भूख को सहन नहीं कर

सकते,हठ को छोड़ देना चाहिये। दृढ़ संकल्प लेखराम ने एक न मानी और नियम पूर्वक एकादशी के दिन उपवास करना आरम्भ कर दिया। जिन के पैतृक संस्कार ऐसे दृढ़ हों, उन को उत्तम शिक्षा किस उच्च अवस्था पर पहुंचा सकती है इस के सिद्ध करने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है।

शिक्षा का प्रभाव।

इस समय जब मनुष्य-शिक्षा सम्बन्धी आन्दोलन में दिनों दिन उन्नति हो रही है और जब कि शताब्दियों के पक्षपात छिन्न भिन्न कर के युरोपियन शिक्षक आर्य्यों की प्राचीन विद्या से उपदेश ग्रहण करने में भी अपनी कुछ हतक नहीं समझते, यह कल्पना करना कठिन है कि आज से ३४ वर्ष पहिले पंजाब देश में सारी शिक्षा की समाप्ति कुछ फ़ारसी के लिखे हुवे पत्रों के साथ ही हो जाती थी। लेखराम को शारीरिक शिक्षा, वर्त्तमान सरकारी शिक्षा विभाग के कृत्रिम नियमानुसार, कुछ मिली वा नहीं इस का पता लगाना कठिन है; किन्तु उनका चौड़ा माथा, उनका खुला विशाल सीना,

उनकी सिंह ठवन इस बात का प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण थी कि ईश्वरीय नियमों की गोद में पले हुवे बच्चों की शारीरिक अवस्था वैसी ही स्वाभाविक होती है जैसे कि ईश्वर के ज्ञान,बल और क्रिया स्वाभाविक हैं। लेखराम को मानसिक शिक्षा क्या मिली? इस प्रश्न के उत्तर के लिए बड़े आन्दोलन की आवश्यक्ता नहीं। अपने चचा महाशय गण्डाराम जी के पास यह चौदह वर्ष की आयु तक रहे, उस के पश्चात् सयदपुर चले गए और वहां के देहाती मदर्से में शिक्षा लाभ करने लगे। इस देहाती मदर्से के मुख्याध्यापक मुंशी तुलसीदास थे। लेखराम ने जो कुछ भी किताबी तालीम हासिल की वह इन्हीं की बदौलत थी। मुंशी तुलसीदास पुराने ढर्रे के स्वतन्त्र विचार वाले आदमी थे। इन का स्वभाव मस्त फ़क़ीरों का सा था, किन्तु साथ ही हृदय बड़ा ही पसीजने वाला और दूसरों के दुःख को अनुभव करने वाला था। मुंशी तुलसीदास आदमी को पहिचानने की शक्ति रखते थे। कवि ने सच कहा है:—

"आदमी आदमी अन्तर, कोई हीरा कोई कङ्कर"—किन्तु यह पता लगाना, कि हीरा कौन है और कङ्कर कौन, साधारण पुरुषों का काम नहीं।

किसी पुरुष विशेष की मानसिक उन्नति का पता लगाने के लिए उस की लड़कपन की अवस्था के निरीक्षण करने

वालों की सम्मति बहुत सहायता देती है। जहां लेखराम के प्रथम चौदह वर्ष के जीवन का ठीक वृत्तान्त उन के चचा महाशय गण्डाराम के लेखों से मिलता है, वहां उस के पश्चात् उन के शिक्षण सम्बन्धी जीवन तथा उन के मानसिक विकाश का पता मुंशी तुलसीदास चकवाल निवासी उभ्रा खत्री वंशीय के लेखों से पता लगता है। मुंशी तुलसीदास का महाशय गण्डाराम के साथ बराबर पत्र व्यवहार था। उन के पत्रों से लेखराम के विस्तृत होते हुवे गुण, कर्म्म, स्वभाव का ठीक पता लगता है। किन्तु उन पत्रों में से लेखराम के जीवन सम्बन्धी लेखों को उद्धृत करने से पहिले मैं उन का उस समय का लेख इस स्थान में नक़ल करता हूं जो लेखराम के महान आत्मसमर्पण का समाचार सुन कर उन्होंने मुद्रणार्थ भेजा था। वह लिखते हैं:—

"स्वर्गवासी पण्डित जी अपने दोनों छोटे भाइयों (तोताराम और बालकराम) सहित मेरे पास तालीम पाते रहे। धर्म्म पर शहीद होने वाले पण्डित जी का क़द (आकार) दर्मियाना, सांवला रङ्ग, कुशादा (खुली) पेशानी, सियाह चश्म (पीछे एक आंख में कुछ विकार सा बैठ गया था) हँस मुख थे। उस समय उनकी आयु १४ वा १५ वर्ष की होगी। बड़े सरल हृदय थे। कुरते की घुण्डी खुली है तो वैसी ही रही, पगड़ी का लड़ गले में है तो कुछ परवा नहीं; किन्तु स्वभाव ऐसा

तीक्षण और स्मरण शक्ति ऐसी पहुंचने वाली कि कठिन से क-ठिन फ़ारसी के पाठ को दोबारा उन्होंने कभी नहीं कहा था। जो पूछो नोक ज़बान होता था। हिसाब में यकता, क़सस-ए-हिन्द (भारत का इतिहास) उपस्थित इत्यादि। केवल गुलिस्तां पूरे आठबाब और बोस्तान पूरे दसबाब नियम पूर्वक पण्डित साहिब ने मुझ से बातर्कीब पढ़े। फिर बहारदानिश आधी से अधिक कुछ सिकन्दरनामा और मुन्तख़बात-ए-फ़ारसी, जिस में अनवार सुहेली, सिकन्दरनामा, शाहनामा का कुछ इन्तख़ाब था। मगर इन किताबों की शिक्षा में यह हाल था कि दो दो पत्रे उलटने पर शायद ही कभी कोई शब्द मुझ से पूछा हो, खुद ही उन की सैर में किश्ती बर आब की तरह तैरते जाते थे" मुन्शी तुलसी दास जी के पत्र व्यवहार से कुछ लेख तिथिवार उद्धृत करना इस स्थान में बड़ा उपयोगी होगा—"चिरञ्जीव लेखराम जी रात के दस बजे तक मेरी कुटिया में रहता है। बहार दानिश में नज़र सानी (पुनरावृत्ति) करता है। इस मदर्से में अपना सानी (बराबरी का) नहीं रखता। बर्खुरदार है" १६ फ़रवरी, सं० १८७३ ई०—"लेखराम मानीटर हो गया"।

१० अगस्त सं० १८७३ ई० "मुन्शी लेखराम मानीटर साहेब काम का तो नाम भी नहीं लेते, पढ़ाई का क्या ज़िक्र। अपनी जहलत के शग़ल (कविता से मतलब है) से फ़रसत

नहीं पाते। ख़ैर अब पहिले की निसबत कुछ सुधार पर आ गए हैं"।

८ दिसम्बर १८७३ ई० । "मुन्शी साहेब लेखराम अब तक अपनी जिहालत पर कमर बस्ता हैं। और तो सब कुछ रखते हैं मगर अक़ल (बुद्धि)। हाय अफ़सोस! अगर यह भी होता तो अन्दर बाहर आदमी होते"।

लेखराम के सम्बन्धी फ़क़ीरचन्द भी मुन्शीतुलसीदास के पास ही पढ़ते थे। उन की योग्यता की प्रशंसा करते हुवे १८ फरवरी सन् १८७४ को उक्त मुन्शीजी ने लिखा था— "लेखराम साहेब भी लेख तथा वक्तृत्वशक्ति में उन से कम नहीं किन्तु तनिक बुद्धि की कसर है।" यह बार बार बुद्धि की कसर का ज़िक्र क्यों आता है और इस से अध्यापक का क्या मतलब है ? आगे चल कर कुछ स्पष्ट हो जाता है।

२४ अगस्त स० १८७४—"लेखराम की प्रकृति के बदलने की ओर हार्दिक ध्यान दीजिएगा। विद्या से विनय उत्तम है और अक़ल शकल से......" लेखराम की प्रकृति में दास भाव पहिले से ही न था, स्वतन्त्रता कूट कूट कर बाल बाल में भरी हुई थी। यही कारण था कि कई वार छात्रवृत्ति तथा पारितोषिक पाने पर भी वह कभी कभी सरकारी शिक्षा

विभाग के बड़े कर्म्मचारियों को भी अप्रसन्न कर लिया करते थे।

इस समय के पहिले से ही लेखराम को कुछ तुकबंदी का भी शौक़ हो चला था औरफ़ारसी तथा उर्दू के अतिरिक्त आप पंजाबी में भी तबियत लड़ाया करते थे। यद्यपि एक महाशय के लेख से ज्ञात होता है कि रिवाजी शृङ्गाररस की कविता की ओर भी लेखराम के दिल का झुकाव था परन्तु मुझे उन की उस समय कीलिखी हुई एक ही कविता मिली है, जिस का सदाचार के साथ सम्बन्ध है। आप ने पंजाबी बैतु-लबाज़ी हुक़्के के विरुद्ध की है जो कवि के बल तथा निर्बलता दोनों का प्रकाश करती है।

"वे वाङ्ग हुके नहीं चीज़ भैड़ी लख बदियां दाइबतदाऽहुक़ा। खङ्ग गर्मी ते सौदाऽसाह चारों रोग करे वरपाऽहुक़ा। जूड्डा चक्खना चंङ्ग्यां मन्दयां दा कोइ फ़ायदा चादसालाऽहुक़ा। शूम बूम वाङ्गुए चिलमकश जित्थे बैठ करे ताज़ा जिस जाऽहुक़ा। गहर वाङ्ग स्याही स्याह करे स्याही यही मुंहदे उत्ते मलाऽहुक़ा। बूबदतर है वाङ्ग बौल थी भी बोल वोलछड्डे सीना खा हुक़ा। नेकमाश नूं हुक़ा बदनाम करदा वाबने कदे बुरा कमाऽ हुक़ा। एह ऐब मैं नेदिते गिन सारे कोई फ़ाइदा नहीं बस बसाय हुक़ा। लेखराम बस बैठ के नाम जपलो नड़ी भस्म के देओ उड़ाय हुक़ा।"

शिक्षा समाप्ति तथा पुलिस की

नौकरी ।

लेखराम के परिवार में चिरकाल से उच्च शिक्षा प्राप्त करने की प्रणाली प्रचलित न थी। इन के दादा तो सर्वथा अशिक्षित ही थे, हां इन के चचा गण्डारामजी ने कुछ फ़ारसी उर्दू में अभ्यास किया था जिस के अनुकरण में उन्हों ने भी इन्हीं भाषाओं का अच्छा अभ्यास कर लिया। किन्तु समय के प्रचलित विचारों के अनुसार सत्रह (१७) वर्ष की आयु वाले युवक का कर्तव्य था कि वह कमाई कर के माता पिता को आर्थिक सहयता देवे, इस लिए इस आयु से पहिले ही इन को सरकारी नौकरी दिलाने की फ़िक्र हो रही थी। उस समय "निकृष्ट चाकरी" को ही अत्युत्तम तथा मान स्थानी समझा जाता था "उत्तम खेती" को गिरा हुवा किसानी काम कहा जाता था; तभी तो महाशय गण्डारामजी, उस समय जब कि लेखराम की आयु पूरे १६ वर्षों की भी न हुई थी, अपने भतीजे के गुरु को प्रेरित करते हैं कि वह इन्सपेक्टर मदारिस के पास लेखराम की नौकरी के लिए सिफ़ारिश करे जिस के उत्तर में मुन्शीतुलसीदास लिखते हैं "अगर साहेब इन्सपेक्टर बहादुर तशरीफ़ लाए और इमतिहान भी अच्छा हुवा, तो मैं ज़रूर लेखराम की निसबत ज़बानी अर्ज़ करूंगा। आइन्दा उस

की क़िस्मत के तअल्लुक़ है । ” सत्रहवां वर्ष अभी समाप्त नहीं हुवा था कि लेखराम को चचा ने पेशावर पुलिस में भरती करा दिया । उस समय क्रुस्टी साहेब वहां की ज़िला पुलिस के सुपरेन्टेन्डेन्ट थे । कैसी विचित्र घटना है कि जिन क्रुस्टी साहेब ने लेखराम को पुलिस में भरती किया था, लेखराम के मारे जाने पर उन्हीं से मुझे घातक का पता लगाने के लिए विशेष प्रार्थना करनी पड़ी । क्रुस्टी साहेब ने मुझे बतलाया था कि जहां उन्हें मालूम था कि लेखराम अपनी निर्भयता तथा स्पष्ट वक्तृत्व के कारण कभी न कभी मारा जायगा, वहां उस कीदृढ़ता के लिए उन के हृदय में सदा मान का भाव रहा करता था ।

सम्वत् १६३२ के पौष मास में २१ दिसम्बर सं० १८७५ ई० के दिन, लेखराम पेशावर पुलिस में भरती किए गए । पुलिस की नौकरी का वृत्तान्त न तो मनोरञ्जक और न ही शिक्षादायक हो सक्ता है । अढ़ाई साल पिछे १) मासिक की उन्नति और फिर प्रत्येक वर्ष के पीछे सारजन्टी के एक एक दर्जे की उपलब्धि का विस्तार पूर्वक वृत्तान्त भी हमारे पल्ले कुछ नहीं डाल सक्ता । सम्वत् १६३७ तक बराबर वेतनोन्नति होती रही, किन्तु उस सम्वत् की समाप्ति के लग भग लेखराम के आत्मा में कुछ विचित्र परिवर्तन होने लगा । पुलिस में नौकर होने से पहिले ही, जब लेखराम अपने चचा के पास “सुआवी” में थे, एक धार्म्मिक सिक्ख सिपाही के सत संग से उन्हें पर-

मात्मा की उपासना का अभ्यास हो गया था। प्रातःकाल ब्राह्ममहूर्त में ही स्नान कर के समाधि लगा कर बैठ जाते और दिन को गुरमुखी अक्षरों में लिखी हुई गीता का पाठ करते। महाशय गण्डाराम जी लिखते हैं कि एक रात्रि को खटिया पर समाधि लगाए बैठे थे कि सब के देखते देखते खटिया से नीचे आ रहे। शिर नीचे और पांव खटिया के ऊपर हो गए, किन्तु इस अवस्था में भी वह अपने ध्यान में मस्त थे।

लेखराम के इस आरम्भिक ईश्वर प्रेम की अवस्था पर पुलिस की नौकरी भी अपना कुछ असर न डाल सकी। सम्बत् १९३७ में फिर से वैराग्य की लहर उठी जिसने पुलिस की हकूमत और सांसारिक ऐश्वर्य्य का नशा हिरन कर दिया। इस समय लेखराम के विचार सर्वथा नवीन वेदान्तियों के साथ मिलते थे। अद्वैत में निश्चय रखते हुवे भी इन्होंने उपासना को जवाब नहीं दिया था और इसी लिये आज कल के वेदान्तियों की तरह वह अद्वैत मत को सांसारिक विषयों के भोग का साधन बनाने का प्रयत्न नहीं करते थे। गीता पढ़ने का परिणाम यह हुवा कि कृष्ण भक्ति में अधिक श्रद्धा हो गई, और रासलीला देखने की ओर रुची बढ़ी। टीके लगा कर "कृष्ण कृष्ण" का जप करते रहते। कृष्ण भक्ति में प्रेम इतना बढ़ा कि नौकरी छोड़ कर वृन्दावन निवास के लिये जाने को तय्यार हो गए। इस समय लेखराम की आयु २१

वर्ष की थी। माता ने विवाह की तय्यारी करदी परन्तु उस वैराग से प्रेरित हरिभक्त ने विवाह से सर्वथा इनकार कर दिया। महाशय गण्डाराम जी इस विषय पर लिखते हैं कि जब पत्र द्वारा मने करने से कुछ न बना तो वह स्वयम् लेखराम को समझाने के लिए गए। उस समय उत्तर में लेखराम ने जो दृष्टान्त दिया उसे महाशय गण्डाराम जी इस प्रकार वर्णन करते हैं—"एक मिसाल सुनाई वह यह है—एक राजा के सामने नट तमाशा करने वाले आए। उन को राजा ने ५००) रु० इनाम देने की प्रतिज्ञा कर के कहा कि योगी की नक़ल उतारो। एक नट ने इनाम के लालच से योगी की ठीक ज्यों की त्यों नक़ल उतारी किन्तु समाधि छोड़ते ही हाथ इनाम के लिए पसार दिया। मतलब इस मिसाल से यह था कि गृहस्थ में रह कर दो काम नहीं हो सक्ते हैं। तब हम सब निराश हो गए और जिस देवी का नाता लेखराम के साथ हुआ था उसका विवाह उनके छोटे भाई तोताराम के साथ कर दिया।"

इन्हीं दिनों पण्डित लेखराम के पुराने उस्ताद तुलसीदास जी उन्हें मिलने के लिए पेशावर गए तो उन से भी नौकरी छोड़ कर संस्कृत पढ़ने के लिए देशान्तर जाने की इच्छा प्रकट की थी।

आर्य्यसमाज में प्रवेश
और
ऋषि दयानन्द का सत्सङ्ग।

ऊपर लिखा जा चुका है कि पहिले पहिल वैराग की लहर दृढ़ संकल्प लेखराम के हृदय में एक नवीन वेदान्ती सिक्ख सिपाही के सतसङ्ग से उठी थी। उसी लहर ने मन रूपी समुद्र के जल को विविध रूपों में बदल कर लेखराम को कहीं रासलीला के भंवर में घुमाया और कहीं गृहस्थाश्रम के कर्त्तव्यों से घृणा दिलाई। किन्तु लेखराम की बुद्धि एक जागृत शक्ति थी; उसकी दृष्टि में यह भ्रम ठहर नहीं सक्ता था कि जीवात्मा ही ब्रह्म है और इस लिए वह कभी भी अपने उस समय के धार्मिक विचारों से सन्तुष्ट नहीं हो सक्ता था। इस समय की दो घटनाएं लेखराम के उस स्वभाव को, जो उसे पैत्रिक दाय में मिला था, बहुत विस्पष्ट करती हैं; इस लिए उनका वर्णन लाभदायक होगा।

पेशावर में नौकरी के दिनों अकेले होने के कारण आटा लेकर रोटी बनवाने तन्दूर वाले की दूकान पर जाया करते थे। एक दिन शहर में किसी आदमी को एक बैल या गाय ने सींगों से घायल किया जिस का चर्चा सारे बाज़ार में फैल गया। तन्दूर वाले की दूकान पर भी यही चर्चा थी।

पण्डित लेखराम तत्काल ही बोल उठे—"क्यों न गाय के सींग पकड़ लिए ? और नहीं तो लाठी मार कर हटा देना चाहिए था।" लोगों ने कहा—"महाराज गौ माता पर कैसे हाथ उठाना ?" इस पर अक्खड़ लेखराम के होंठ फड़कने लगे, आंखें लाल हो गईं और अधिक अटक अटक कर बोले—"अगर मेरे सामने गाय या बैल आवे और मुझे मारने लगे और जान का ख़तरा हो तो मैं—तलवार से उस का सिर उड़ा दूं।" इतना कहना था कि लोगों ने "दुष्ट! हत्यारा! इत्यादि" दुर्वचनों का तूफ़ान मचा दिया और तन्दूर वाले ने लोगों के जोश से डर कर आटा ज्यों का त्यों लौटा दिया।

एक ओर तो रुकावट सामने आने पर इतना अक्खड़पन और दूसरी ओर—एक और घटना सुनाता हूं जिस से पता लगता है कि धर्म्म की जिज्ञासा ने उस तङ्ग ज़माने में भी लेखराम को उदार सार्वभौम हृदय का स्वामी बना दिया था। पेशावर-से एक महाशय लिखते हैं कि पण्डित लेखराम के मित्र महता कृपाराम जी ने उन्हें महम्मदी मत की पुस्तकों को अधिकतः पाठ करते देख कर एक दिन पूछा कि आप मुसलमानी मज़हब की पुस्तकों को इतना क्यूं पढ़ते हैं, क्या यदि महम्मदी मत आपको सच्चा लगे तो आप मुसलमान हो जा-

यंगे।" वहां उत्तर के लिए कुछ सोचने की आवश्यकता न थी; उत्तर मिला—"बेशक ! अगर दस घड़े रक्खे हों और यह मालूम न हो कि ठन्डा पानी किस में है तो जब तक थोड़ा थोड़ा पानी सब में से न पिया जाय तब तक कैसे पता लग सक्ता है कि किस घड़े का पानी ठन्डा और मीठा है। इसी तरह सब मतों की पुस्तकों की पड़ताल करके पता लगाना चाहिए कि सच्चा धर्म्म कौनसा है।"

इन दो उक्तियों से ही पण्डित लेखराम के स्वभाव के उतराव चढ़ाव का कुछ पता लग जाता है।

इन्हीं दिनों, जब गीता की सटीक पुस्तक काशी से मंगाकर उसे व्याख्या सहित पढ़ रहे थे पण्डित लेखराम को मुंशी कन्हैयालाल अलखधारी की पुस्तकों के देखने कीउत्कन्ठा हुई। तत्काल ही धर्म के प्यासे ने अलखधारी के सब प्रसिद्ध ग्रन्थ मंगा लिए जो पेशावर में आर्यसमाज स्थापन करते ही, अपने अन्य ग्रन्थों सहित,उस आर्यसमाज की भेंट कर दिए। पेशावर आर्यसमाज के पुस्तकालय की सूची भी पण्डित लेखराम की ही लिखी हुई है, जिस में ऋषिदयानन्द से मिली हुई अष्टाध्यायी के साथ साथ "तोहफ़तुलइसलाम", "पादाशुलइसलाम" इत्यादि के नाम भी दर्ज हैं।

पंजाब में मुंशी कन्हैयालाल अलखधारी के लेखों ने वैदिकधर्म के पुनर्जीवित करने में वही काम दिया जो ईसाई मतकी स्थापना

से पहिले "यहुन्ना" [John the BaPtis] के व्याख्यानों ने किया था। यदि कृश्चियन चर्च को ईसा का उपदेश समझाने के लिए यहुन्ना के व्याख्यानों की आवश्यकता थी तो आर्यसमाज को भी ऋषिदयानन्द का उद्देश समझने के लिए अलखधारी की प्रचण्ड चोटों की ज़रूरत अवश्य थी। उस समय के नवशिक्षित पंजाबी, और कुछ कुछ संयुक्त प्रान्ती भी, अलखधारी को अपना "पैग़ाम्बर" और "राहबर" मानते थे। अलखधारी के खुले स्पष्ट शब्द कुरितियों से पीड़ित आर्य सन्तान को उत्साहित करने और उन्हें अन्धपरम्परा की कड़ी साङ्कलों को तोड़ने का बल प्रदान करने में बिजुली का काम देते थे; किन्तु फिर भी पुराने ढर्रे के पौराणिकों पर उन का कुछ भी प्रभाव नहीं पड़ता था। पौराणिक गढ़ को तोड़ने के लिए वेदशास्त्र रूपी प्रबल शस्त्रों की आवश्यकता थी, जिन के चलाने में निपुण एक ही कोपीनधारी सन्यासी शताब्दियों के पश्चात् दिखाई दिया था। अलखधारी ने उसी अखण्ड शस्त्र धारी बाल ब्रह्मचारी की शरण ली, और अपने लेखों की पुष्टी में स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती के व्याख्यायों और लेखों का प्रमाण दिया। यही कारण था कि मुंशी कन्हैयालालअलखधारी के सब चेले अन्त को ऋषि दयानन्द की पवित्र शरण में आए और आर्यसमाज के उत्साही सभासद्व बने। इसी प्रकार के सुशिक्षित युवक वीरों में से लेखराम एक था।

अलखधारी की पुस्तकों को पढ़ने से ही लेखराम को ऋषि दयानन्द के नाम और काम का पता लगा। तब इन्होंने अपने माने हुए अद्वैत मत की पड़ताल की और जब तक पूरी छानबीन करके अपने आपको परमात्मा के सेवक, पुत्र, भक्त न समझ लिया तब तक दम न लिया। इन्हीं दिनों समाचार पत्रों में ऋषि दयानन्द के धर्म्म प्रचार के काम की धूम मची हुई थी। लेखराम ने पत्र व्यवहार आरम्भ करके ऋषि प्रणीत ग्रन्थों को मंगाया और सम्वत् १९३७ के अन्तिम भाग में ही पेशावर में आर्य्य समाज स्थापित कर दिया।

आर्य्य समाज तो स्थापन हुआ किन्तु उस की सीमा लेखराम से बाहर न थी। जिन को मृत्यु के समय धर्म्म की मूर्ति माना गया और जिन के नाम के साथ पण्डित शब्द अपने आप को स्वयम् सम्मानित समझता था, उन्हें उस समय "लेखू" कह कर पुकारा जाता था। लोकोक्ति प्रसिद्ध है—"माया तेरे तीन नाम। परसू, परसा, परसराम।" इसी प्रकार कहा जा सक्ता है कि आत्मसमर्पण करने वाले लेखराम भी लेखू से लेखराम और फिर "धर्म्म वीर पण्डित लेखराम" बन गए। लेखू महाशय उस समय पेशावर नगर में "माई रज्जी की धर्म्मशाला" के अन्दर रहते थे। उसी स्थान में आर्य्य समाज के साप्ताहिक नहीं प्रत्युत दैनिक अधिवेशन होने लगे। न कोई नोटिस लगाया जाता और नहीं ढिंढोरा पिट-

बाया जाता ; वैदिक धर्म्म का सिपाही लेखू अपने तीन चार मित्रों को समझाने बैठता । पांच में चार मित्रों को तो समझा लिया और वे "खुद खुदा" कहलाने से लज्जित हो कर परम-पिता की शरण में आगए, किन्तु पांचवां कट्टर नवीन वेदान्ती था जिस ने लेखू को भी अद्वैत का पहला पाठ पढ़ाया था। जब वह किसी प्रकार भी क़ाबू न आया तो लेखू से "लेखराम" बने हुए मित्र ने कहा—" कमबख़्त ! तेरी समझ में कुछ नहीं आता तब भी हमारी ख़ातिर से ही आर्य्य बन जा। मित्र मण्डल तो न टूटेगा।" यह युक्ति प्र-बल थी, काट कर गई । पांचों ने मिल कर काम करना आर-म्भ किया। कहते हैं कि "एक एक और दो ग्यारह" होते हैं। यहां तो—" पांच पंच मिल कीजे काज । हारे जीते न आवै लाज" वाला मामला हो गया था।

धर्म्म जिज्ञासु लेखराम ने आर्य्य समाज तो स्थापन कर लिया और नियम पूर्वक नित्यकर्मों का पालन भी आरम्भ कर दिया किन्तु दूसरों को समझाने में कभी कभी स्वयम् डांवा-डोल हो जाते। अन्यसर्व सिद्धान्तों का तो बड़ी प्रबल युक्तियों से मन्डन करते किन्तु जब अपने नवीन वेदान्ती मित्रों से बात चीत होती तो कभी कभी निरुत्तर हो जाते। फिर थे भी तो अभी तक सुन्नी आर्य ! एक लोकोक्ति है कि मुसलमानी मत

सब रास्ते साफ़ करता और तलवार के ज़ोर से लोगों को मुहम्मदी बनाता जब अटक नदी के किनारे पहुंचा तब गुरुनानक ने कहा—"अब तो अटक।" गुरुमहाराज के इस आदेशानुसार असली मुसलमानी मत अटक के उसपार ही रहगया; तब मुल्लाओं ने अपनी बाङ्ग देनी शुरु की जिस को सुन कर अटक के इस पार वाले हिंदू भी मुसलमान होने लगे। इसी लिए हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमान सुन्नीकहलाते हैं।

उपरोक्त लोकोक्ति के अनुसार लेखराम जी अबतक सुन्नी आर्य ही थे। उन्होंने मन में ठान लिया कि आर्यसमाज के प्रवर्तक ऋषि दयानन्द से संशय निवृत्ति करने, और उन से आशिर्वाद लेने, के लिए उन कीसेवा में अवश्य जाना चाहिये। ऐसा निश्चय दृढ़ करते ही साढ़ेचार वर्षों की नौकरी के पश्चात् एक मास की पहली छुट्टी (५ मई सं. १८८० ई. से) लेकर ११ मई को ऋषि दयानन्द के दर्शनार्थ अजमेर नगर की ओर चल दिए। लाहौर, अमृतसर, मेरठ आदि नगरों के प्रसिद्ध आर्यसमाजों में ठहरते हुए १६ मई की रात को अजमेर जा पहंचे और १७मई को सेठ फ़तेहमल जी की वाटिका में पहुंच कर ऋषि दयानन्द के, पहिली और अन्तिम बार, दर्शन किये। इस समागम का हाल आर्य पथिक ने अपने शब्दों में इसप्रकार दियाहै—

स्वामी दयानन्द के दर्शन से यात्रा के सब कष्ट विस्मृत हो गए और उनके सत्योपदेशों से सर्व संशय निवृत्त होगए। जयपुर में मुझ से एक बङ्गाली ने प्रश्न किया था कि आकाश भी व्यापक है और ब्रह्म भी व्यापक है ; दो व्यापक किस प्रकार एक स्थान में इकट्ठे रह सक्ते हैं। मुझसे इसका कुछ उत्तर बन न आया।

मैंने यही प्रश्न स्वामी जी से पूछा। उन्हों ने एक पत्थर उठा कर कहा“ इस में अग्नि व्यापक है वा नहीं ?” मैंने कहा कि व्यापक है। फिर पूछा—“मट्टी ?” मैंने कहा कि व्यापक है। फिर पूछा—“परमात्मा ?” मैंने कहा कि वह भी व्यापक है। तब कहा—“देखा ! कितने पदार्थ हैं, परन्तु सब इस में व्यापक हैं। असल बात यह है कि जो (वस्तु) जिस से सूक्ष्म होती है वही उस में व्यापक हो सक्ती है। ब्रह्म यतः सब से अति सूक्ष्म है अतः सर्व व्यापक है।” इस से मेरी शान्ति हो गई।

मुझे उन्हों ने आज्ञा दी कि जो संशय मुझे हों उन को निवारण करलूं। मैंने बहुत सोच समझ कर दश प्रश्न लिखे जिन में से तीन मुझे याद हैं, शेष सब भूल गए—

प्रश्न—जीव ब्रह्म की भिन्नता में कोई वेद का प्रमाण बतलाइए।

उत्तर—यजुर्वेद का चालीसवां अध्याय सारा जीव ब्रह्म का भेद बतलाता है।

प्रश्न—अन्य मतों के मनुष्यों को शुद्ध करना चाहिए वा नहीं ?

उत्तर—अवश्य शुद्ध करना चाहिए।

प्रश्न—बिजुली क्या वस्तु है और कैसे उत्पन्न होती है ?

उत्तर—विद्युत सर्व स्थानों में है और रगड़ से उत्पन्न होती है। बादलों की विद्युत भी बादलों और वायु की रगड़ से उत्पन्न होती है।

अन्त में मुझे आदेश दिया कि २५ वर्ष (की आयु) से पहले विवाह न करना।

ऋषि दयानन्द जी के थोड़े ही सत्सङ्ग ने लेखराम के धार्मिक विचारों को दृढ़ कर दिया और इसी लिए उस के पश्चात् हम वैदिक धर्म्म पर उनका विश्वास चट्टान की तरह दृढ़ पाते हैं।

धर्म्म कार्यों में अधिक अनुराग और दासत्व से मुक्ति।

अजमेर से लौटते ही पण्डित लेखराम का पहला कार नामा उन के सारे शेष जीवन के पुरुषार्थ का एक दृष्टान्त मात्र है। एक दिन आप अपने पुराने परिचित सन्त दामोदरदास वेदान्ती के पास गए। सन्त जी ने कहा कि सब ब्रह्म ही ब्रह्म है। लेखराम ने पूछा "महाराज ! आप भी ब्रह्म हैं मैं भी ब्रह्म हूं और यह पुस्तक भी ब्रह्म है ?" उतर हां में मिलते ही पण्डित लेखराम ने पुस्तक (जिस में उपनिषदों का गुटका था) उठाली और वेदान्ती जी के मांगने पर फिर उनको न लौटाई। वह पुस्तक सम्वत् १९५२ तक पेशावर आर्यसमाज के पुस्तकालय में ग्रन्थकर्ता ने स्वयम् देखी थी। ऋषि दयानन्द के प्रत्यक्ष सत्सङ्ग ने हमारे चरित्रनायक के मन पर स्वतन्त्रता तथा धर्मभक्ति का रङ्ग अधिक गाढ़ा करदियाथा, इस लिए अजमेर से लौटकर उन्हें दिन रात धर्मप्रचार की ही धुन लगी रहती थी। पेशावर अर्यसमाज की ओर से उर्दू का मासिकपत्र "धर्मोपदेश" नामी जारी कराया जिसके सम्पादन का भार भी स्वयम् ही उठाया। इस के साथ ही जनसाधारण में निडर हो कर मौखिक धर्मोपदेश आरम्भ कर

दिए। एक दिन विज्ञापन दिया कि मद्यपान निवारणार्थ व्याख्यान देंगे। व्याख्यान अंजुमन के हाल में था जिसकारण ज़िले के डिपुटीकमिश्नर अन्य अंग्रेजों सहित पधारे। बहुत से सेनाधिकारी भी उपस्थित थे। लेखराम का व्याख्यान युक्ति युक्त तथा प्रभाव शाली हुआ। एक फौजी कप्तान ने उस का समर्थन किया और बतलाया कि उसने भी अपनी सेना में मद्यपान को बन्द करा दिया है।

इस समय के पुलीस सुपरिन्टेन्डेन्ट को जब पता लगा कि उनका नक़शा नवीस सार्जेन्ट लेखराम बहस मुबाहसे में बहुत ताक़ है तो प्रायः अपने डिपुटी रीडर वज़ीरअली के साथ उनका मुबाहसा (शास्त्रार्थ) कराकर स्वयम् आनन्द लूटा करते। मुझे बतलाया गया है कि यह साहेब बहादुर प्रायः लेखराम के कथन काही समर्थन किया करते थे।

किन्तु "सब दिन जतन एक समान" अपनी धुनमें मस्त लेखराम को उस गहरी नींद से जागना पड़ा क्योंकि नए पुलीस सुपरिन्टेन्डेन्ट के आने पर बहुत सी तबदीलियां हुईं। इसी चक्र में लेखराम को पेशावर शहर से थाना "सुआबी" में बदला गया। बाहर जाकर भी अपने प्रिय मासिक पत्र धर्मोपदेश के लिए यथाशक्ति लेख भेजते रहे और समाज का मासिक चन्दा १) सैकड़ा के स्थान में बराबर ५) सैंकड़ा देते रहे। जाने को पेशावर से बाहर चले तो गए किन्तु धर्म प्रचार की इच्छा रूपी प्रचण्ड अग्नि कहीं थोड़ा ही मन्द पड़ गई थी, वहां पर भी महम्मदियों से बहसमुबाहसा जारी रहा। एक दिन पुलिस इन्स्पेक्टर ने, जो थाने का मुला-

हिज़ा करने आया था, लेखराम को मुबाहिसे में फंसा लिया। लेखराम भला धर्म के मामले में कब लिहाज़ करने वाले थे, उत्तर मुंह तोड़ दिए। उस समय तो इन्सपेक्टर साहब अपना सा मुंह लेकर चुप हो गए किन्तु दूसरे दिन ही "अदूल हुकमी" (आज्ञा भङ्ग) के अपराध में रिपोर्ट कर दी। तब १२ जून १८८३ को सदर से हुकुम आया कि "छः मास के लिए लेखराम का एक दर्जा तोड़ दिया जावे और वह थाना कालूखां में बदला जावे।"

सुआवी के थाने में रहते हुए जो उर्दू भारत-दण्ड-संग्रह की पुस्तक लेखराम के पास थी उस के पहले पृष्ठ पर एक लछम पछम सा चित्र खींच कर आपने उस के ऊपरले भाग में "ओ३म्" लिखा था और उस के ऊपर एक झन्डे की शकल बनाई; अर्थात् उसी समय से यह निश्चय दृढ़ कर लिया था कि ओ३म् का झन्डा किसी दिन सारे भूमण्डल पर फहरायगा और सर्वमतों का शिरोमणि बनेगा।

थाना सुआबी में होते हुए ही लेखराम के साथ महम्मदियों का द्वेष बहुत कुछ बढ़ चुका था; उस को अपने धर्म-कार्यों के लिए समय भी कम मिलने लगा। "सत्योपदेश" के जीवन का सारा निर्भर केवल अकेले लेखराम की लेखनी पर ही न था प्रत्युत उसकी आर्थिक दशा को ठीक रखने का बोझ उठाने वाला भी कोई और न था। जब पेशावर आर्यसमाज ने अधिक घाटा देख कर सत्योपदेश को बन्द करने की ठानली तो एक मास के घाटे के लिए ५) लेखराम ने ही भेजदिए। इस पर

भी जब मासिकपत्र की इतिश्री काही निश्चय हुआ तो पण्डित लेखराम ने अपने चचा को लिखा—"जो निश्चय आपने तथा आर्यसमाज (पेशावर) के सर्व सभासदों ने 'धर्मोपदेश" को बन्द करने के विषय में किया है, वह तो शिरोधार्य है परन्तु यह वाक्य कि हमारी समाज की उन्नति नज़र नहीं आती, यह पांच छः रुपये मासिक समाज की उन्नति में व्यय करना चाहिये, इत्यादि मुझे चिन्ता (में डालते हैं)...........मज़मून रिसाला धर्मोपदेश, जो मैंने भेजा था, लौटादीजिए, ताकि उसको आर्य समाचार मेरठ में छपवाया जावे, और (मेरे) मौजूदा पांच रुपये में से ३) महम्मद मालिक मतबाशरीफ़ी को देदें और २) अपने हिसाब में जमा फ़रमावें।" ये शब्द स्वयम् बोल रहे हैं, इन पर किसी टीका टिप्पणी की आवश्यकता नहीं।

फिर सिवाय इस के और क्या हो सक्ता था कि रिसाला सत्योपदेश को बन्द कर दिया जाय। लेखराम के इस पहले मानसिक बच्चे का अन्त्येष्टि संस्कार मार्च सं० १८८३ ई० को हो गया। थाना कालूखां में पहुंचने से पहले ही लेखराम के कट्टरपन की धूम महम्मदियों में मची हुई थी, किन्तु इस दुष्कीर्त्ति के होते हुए भी वह अन्य मतावलम्बियों को अपने धर्म के सिद्धान्त समझाने के उद्देश्य से ऐसा प्यार करते थे कि पक्षपातियों से न भड़काए हुए सर्व साधारण मुसलमान उन के साथ प्रेम करने के लिए बाधित हो जाते। थाना कालूखां के विषय में मुझे केवल पेशावर की पुलिस आज्ञा पुस्तक से दो आज्ञाओं की नक़ल मिली है, जिन से पता लगता है कि वहां के मुसलमान सब इन्सपेक्टर और सारजन्ट लेखराम का

एक दर्जा, किसी "हज़रत–शाह चौकीदार" के मुक़द्दमें में ग़फ़लत (असावधानी) दिखाने के कारण तोड़ दिया गया था। ये दोनों आज्ञाएं ६ जून, सं० १८८४ ई० को निकलीं, किन्तु इन के निकलने से पहले ही लेखराम सार्जेन्ट को दफ़्र पुलिस में तबदील कर दिया गया था और वहां से उसे साहब असिस्टेन्ट मजिस्ट्रटे की पेशी में लगाया गया। यह बात प्रसिद्ध थी कि अपराध तो थाना कालूखां के मुसलमान सब इन्स्पेक्टर अ-केले का था, किन्तु लेखराम अपनी निडर हाज़िर जवाबी के कारण बिना अपराध के ही दण्डनीय समझा गया। मुसलमान पुलिस अफ़सरों ने समझा कि पेशावर में बुलवा कर वे लेखराम का मुंह बन्द कर देंगे, किन्तु इस अत्याचार ने दासत्व की बेड़ियों के काटने और लेखराम का मुंह स्वतन्त्रता से खुलवाने में प्रबल सहायता दी, और २४ जुलाई सं० १८८४ ई० को सदा के लिए स्मरणीय दिन लेखराम ने पुलिस की नौकरी से त्याग पत्र दे दिया और लिख दिया कि दो महीने की क़ानूनी मियाद के पीछे उसे रोकने का किसी को भी अधिकार न होगा। दो मास के पश्चात् २४ सितम्बर, १८८४ ई० को यह त्याग पत्र फिर पेश हुआ। लेखराम को त्याग पत्र लौटाने के लिए अं-ग्रेज़ हाकिमों ने भी बहुतेरा समझाया, किन्तु वहां तो लगन ही और लग चुकी थी; हमारे वीर चरित्रनायक ने किसी की न सुनी और ३० सितम्बर १८८४ ईसवी से त्याग पत्र की मन्जूरी का हुकुम २४ सिम्बर को ही अपने हाथ से लिख और निकलसन साहब के उस पर हस्ताक्षर करा के मनुष्यों के दासत्व से सदा के लिए मुक्त हो गए । इस दासत्व की

सांकल के कटते ही लेखराम सार्जेन्ट पण्डित लेखराम बन गए।

यह बात प्रसिद्ध है कि यवनों के संसर्ग से पञ्जाब प्रान्त में मांस भक्षण का प्रचार आर्य्य जाति में भी बहुत था और सीमा प्रान्त के ज़िलों में से पेशावर तो उस समय भी मांसाशियों का गढ़ समझा जाता था। यही कारण था कि पञ्जाब के पहले आर्य्य समाजियों ने अहिंसा धर्म्म के पालन की ओर अधिक रुचि नहीं दिखाई थी। मूर्ति पूजा और मृतक श्राद्ध के खन्डन में जो बड़े अग्रणी थे वे सन्ध्या अग्निहोत्र के अभ्यास और मद्य मांसादि से वैराग को आवश्यक नहीं समझते थे कारण यह था कि पहले पहल बहुधा नक़ली और फ़सली आर्य्य बहुत थे। किन्तु पण्डित लेखराम असली आर्यों में एक ऊंचा पद रखते थे। मद्य तो पहले से ही उन के लिए घृणित वस्तु थी किन्तु मांस भक्षण को भी महापापों में से एक समझते थे। सन्ध्या में अनध्याय को वह सब से बढ़ कर पाप मानने लगे थे। मुझे यह पता नहीं लगा कि उन्हीं दिनों नित्य हवन का प्रारम्भ किया था वा नहीं, किन्तु उन के अन्य चरित्रों से यही अनुमान होता हैं कि वैदिक धर्म्म की शरण में आते हुए उन्हों ने सच्चे धर्म्म की प्राप्ति को जीवन और मृत्यु का प्रश्न समझा था।

धर्म्मान्दोलन में अनन्य अनुराग।

यह लोकोक्ति प्रसिद्ध है—"होनहार विरवा के चिकने चिकने पात"। पण्डित लेखराम पर यह लोकोक्ति सर्वाङ्ग में

चरितार्थ थी। जिस आर्य्य पथिक् ने धर्म्म प्रचार के लिए यात्रा करते हुए दिन रात को एक कर देना था, जिस लेखवीर ने सत्यधर्म्म की रक्षा के लिए अपूर्व ग्रन्थ लिखने थे और जिस शास्त्रार्थ के धनी ने वैदिक धर्म्म के विरोधियों को स्थान स्थान पर निरुत्तर करना था, उस को आर्य्यसमाज में प्रवेश करते ही शास्त्रार्थ तथा लेख का अभ्यास हो चला था।

पेशावर आर्य्य समाज के भाइयों की कृपा से मुझे लेखराम की सभासदी के समय के सब रजिस्टर मिल गए हैं। एक ओर तो समाज का सारा आय व्यय का हिसाब लेखराम के हाथ का लिखा हुआ है, और दूसरी ओर आए गए पत्रों की प्रति लिपि लग भग उन्हीं के हाथ की है। आए हुए पत्रों की नकल तो किसी अन्य के हाथ की है, किन्तु जो पत्र भेजे गए उन का सारांश प्रायः पण्डित जी का अपना लिखा हुआ है। ८ फरवरी १८८२ ई० को आपने पादरी एम० वेरी साहेब से इन्जील के ईश्वरीय ज्ञान होने तथा मुक्ति के लिए ईसा पर ईमान लाने की ज़रूरत पर शास्त्रार्थ का घोषणा पत्र भेजा। इस का जो उत्तर पादरी साहेब की ओर से आया वह बड़ा गोल-मोल है। इस समय समाज के मन्त्री होते हुए भी पण्डित लेखराम अपने आप को "मैनेजर पेशावर आर्य्य समाज" लिखा करते थे और थे भी तो सर्व प्रकार के प्रबन्धकर्त्ता ये ही।

पेशावर शहर से जब पुलिस की नौकरी में बाहर बदल गए थे, तब भी मासिक चन्दा देते हुए आर्य्य समाज पेशावर के सभासद्द बराबर बने रहे। एक बार किसी काम के लिए पेशावर

आए तो साप्ताहिक अधिवेशन में, जो एक तहसीलदार की धर्मशाला में हो रहा था, सम्मिलित हुए। साप्ताहिक अधिवेशन की समाप्ति पर अन्तरङ्ग सभा के सभासद् बैठे रहे और विचार यह होने लगा कि जिन तहसीलदार महाशय की धर्मशाला अधिवेशनों के लिए मिली है उन को ही समाज का प्रधान बनाया जावे। तहसीलदार साहब भी विराजमान थे। पण्डित लेखराम ने बिना सङ्कोच के कहा—"यह मांस खाते और शराब पीते हैं; ऐसा आदमी प्रधान नहीं होना चाहिए।" अन्य सब सभासद् तहसीलदार साहब को प्रधान बनाने पर तुल गए। तब पण्डित लेखराम अप्रसन्न हो कर उठ गए, क्योंकि ऐसे विचार को सुनना भी वह पाप समझते थे।

सं० १८८२ ई० में जब पं० लेखराम अभी पेशावर में ही थे ऋषि दयानन्द की ओर से उन्हें दो पत्र मिले। एक के साथ गोरक्षा विषयक प्रार्थना पत्र प्रजा के हस्ताक्षरों के लिए था और दूसरे में पंजाव में हिन्दी के प्रचार के लिए शिक्षा कमीशन को मेमोरियल (Memorial) भेजने की प्रेरणा थी। दोनों कार्य पण्डित लेखराम ने बड़े उत्साह से कराए।

अभी पण्डित लेखराम पेशावर से बाहर थानों में ही घूम रहे थे कि उन के पास क़ादियां के "मिर्ज़ा ग़ुलाम अहमद" की बनाई पुस्तक "बुराहीन अहमदिया" पहुंच गई, जिस में मिर्ज़ा जी ने पहले महल पैग़म्बरी का दावा किया था, और साथ ही यह पता लगा कि मिर्ज़ा ग़ुलाम अहमद के बड़े चेले हकीम नूरउद्दीन की सङ्गत से जम्मू में एक ठाकुरदास नामी हिन्दू मह-

म्मदी मतस्वीकार करने को तय्यार है। पण्डित लेखराम तीन चार बार छुट्टी लेले कर उसे समझाने के लिए जम्मू गए और इन का पुरुषार्थ इतना फलदायक हुआ कि ठाकुरदास क़ादियानी का गुलाम बनने से बच गया।

इन्हीं दिनों पण्डित लेखराम ने मिर्ज़ा की "बुराहीन" के चारों हिस्से पढ़ डाले और जब चौथे भाग में आर्य समाज और आर्य सिद्धान्तों पर विषमय आक्रमण देखे तो तत्काल ही उस पुस्तक का उत्तर लिखना आरम्भ कर दिया। आर्य पथिक को जिस बात की धुन लगती उस के आरम्भ करने में एक पल की देर करना भी उन्हें दूभर हो जाता था। वहां नया काग़ज़ मंगाने को समय कहां था, आय समाज पेशावर के रजिस्टर पर ही उत्तर घसीटने लग गए।

जम्मू में पण्डित लेखराम पण्डित नारायणकौल के यहां ठहरे जो प्रसिद्ध पण्डित मनफूल के भाई थे। यह महाशय अरबी तथा फ़ारसी के बड़े विद्वान् थे। इन से पण्डित लेखराम को "बुराहीन अहमदिया" के खण्डन में बड़ी सहायता मिली।

धर्मान्दोलन तथा धार्मिक विषयों के विचार में तो लगन पहले से ही लग चुकी थी; ऋषि दयानन्द की, धर्म तथा देश के लिए, शोकजनक मृत्यु ने और भी अधीर कर दिया और सारे संसार को वैदिक धर्म के झन्डे के नीचे लाने का कर्तव्य भी लेख-वीर ने अपना ही समझ कर धर्म वीर का पद प्राप्त करने की ओर पग उठाया। कोई आर्य जाति में से ईसाई वा मुसलमानी मतों की ओर झुके तो उसे बचाने का बीड़ा लेखराम

उठाते थे; जन्म के ईसाई और मुसलमान को वैदिक धर्म की शरण में लाने का अपना कर्तव्य वह बतलाते थे; वैदिक धर्म पर कोई भी आक्षेप हो उस का उत्तर देना इन का कर्त्तव्य था और प्रत्येक प्रकार के नास्तिकत्व का खण्डन इन का ही धर्म था।

इन्हीं दिनों यह समाचार गरम था कि मुज़फ़्फ़र नगर के रईस, चौधरी घासीराम जी महम्मदी मत की ओर झुके हुए हैं। ऐसा भी अनुमान होता है कि शायद उस अवसर पर छुट्टी न मिलने के कारण ही पंडित लेखराम ने सरकारी नौकरी से त्यागपत्र दे दिया हो। मेरे चचा उन दिनों मुज़फ़्फ़रनगर में पुलिस इन्सपेक्टर थे। उन से मुझे पता लगा था कि आर्य उपदेशकों ने महम्मदी मौलवियों को लाजबाब कर दिया था।

कुछ ही हो पण्डित लेखराम ने अपना त्यागपत्र स्वीकार होने तक क़ादियानी मिर्ज़ा के जवाब में "तकज़ीब बुराहीन–ए–अहमदिया का प्रथम भाग' तय्यार कर के लिख लिया था।

दासत्व से मुक्त होते ही सब से पहले आर्य समाज रावलपिन्डी के वार्षिकोत्सव पर पहुंचे उन दिनों बड़े वक्ता न थे कि विना लिखे कोई विषय निभा सकें किन्तु फिर भी एक लेख बद्ध व्याख्यान उस उत्सव में पढ़ा। उस का शीर्षक था— "आर्य धर्म के आलमगीर होने के सबूत और उस के आइन्दा तरक़्क़ी के निशान मज़बूत"। क़ाफ़िया मिलाने का पहले से ही शौक़ था। यह व्याख्यान लाला गङ्गाराम धम ने मेरे पास रावलपिन्डी आर्य समाज के कार्यालय से निकाल कर भेजा

था जो २१ तथा २८ आषाढ़, सम्वत् १९५४ के सद्धर्म-प्रचारक में छप चुका है। इस व्याख्यान में पण्डित लेखराम ने यह बड़ा उदार भाव प्रकट किया था कि:—

"स्वामी दयानन्द और बाबा नानक जी के ख़यालात वाहिद थे। मेरे ख़याल में वह (बाबा नानक जी) वेदोक्त धर्म को तरक़्क़ी देने वाले थे और हत्तलवसा (यथा शक्ति) उन्होंने आर्य्य धर्म फैलाने में बहुत कोशिश की।" रावलपिन्डी से गुरुदासपुर पहुंच कर एक ओर तो मिर्ज़ा साहेब को शास्त्रार्थ के लिए चैलेञ्ज भेजा और दूसरी ओर १ अक्टूबर १८८४ को विज्ञापन देकर बड़ी जन उपस्थिति में उन के आक्षेपों के उत्तर पढ़े गए। मिर्ज़ा गुलाम अहमद ने तो आना ही क्या था; हां आर्यजगत् में जो खलबली मिर्ज़ा के ग्रन्थ ने मचाई थी वह दूर हो गई। पण्डित लेखराम की यह पहली पुस्तक ऐसी ज़बरदस्त समझी गई कि बहुत लोगों ने इस की हस्तलिखित प्रतियां, बड़ा व्यय कर के, प्राप्त कीं।

गुरुदासपुर में व्याख्यान देने के पश्चात् पण्डित लेखराम लाहौर लौट गए और वहां कुछ दिनों, उपदेश का कार्य भी जारी रखते हुए, संस्कृत व्याकरण का अभ्यास करते रहे। पण्डित लेखराम इस समय दृढ़ता से संस्कृत साहित्य विशेषतः वैदिक साहित्य का स्वाध्याय नियम पूर्वक गुरुमुख से करना चाहते थे, किन्तु यह काम प्रथम आश्रम की शान्त अवस्था में ही हो सक्ता है। पण्डित लेखराम के अन्दर, संसार में अविद्या का राज्य देख कर, बड़ी भारी हल चल मच चुकी थी। ऋषि

दयानन्द की अकाल मृत्यु ने उन का उत्तर दातृत्व बहुत बढ़ा दिया था, इस लिए जब उस क़ादियानी मिर्ज़ा की ओर से, जिस के "झूठे दावों की तरदीद" यह ग्रन्थ रूप में कर चुके थे, एक विज्ञापन देखा, जिस में उस ने महम्मदी मत की पुष्टि में चमत्कार (Miracle) दिखाने की प्रतिज्ञा की थी, तो इन से न रहा गया।

सिंह को गुहा पर सीधा आक्रमण।

मिर्ज़ा जी ने अपने इश्तिहार में सिंह की तरह चौमुखी लड़ाई का घोषणा पत्र दिया था। उन्हों ने सर्व मतस्थ पुरुषों को इस लाभ की दावत दी थी और अपने आप को "खुदा का पैग़ाम्बर" सिद्ध करने के लिए प्रतिज्ञा की थी कि यदि क़ादियां में एक वर्ष तक रख कर वह कोई दैवी चमत्कार (आसमानी निशान) न दिखा सकें तो इस प्रकार एक वर्ष रहे हुए मनुष्य को २००) मासिक के हिसाब से २४००) देंगे। पण्डित लेखराम ने जब यह इश्तिहार पढ़ा उस समय वे अमृतसर में थे। विज्ञापन पढ़ते ही उन्हों ने ३ अप्रैल, १८८५ ई० को मिर्ज़ा जी के नाम पत्र लिखा जिस में उन की शर्तों को स्वीकार कर के प्रतिज्ञा की कि जिस समय वह २४००) सरकारी कोष में दाख़िल कर ने की सूचना देंगे उसी समय स्वयम् क़ादियां में पहुंच जायंगे। इस के उत्तर में मिर्ज़ा ने एक नई अड़चन लगाई कि वह साधारण पुरुषों से वाद विवाद नहीं करना चाहता, उस के साथ कोई अपनी सम्प्रदाय का प्रमाणिक और प्रसिद्ध आदमी ही जुटे तो वह तय्यार होगा।

यह पत्र पण्डित लेखराम के पास लाहौर में ६ अप्रैल १८८५ को पहुंचा और उसी दिन उन्होंने इस का उत्तर दे दिया, जिस में पहले मिर्ज़ा के नए अड़चन का खण्डन किया और लिखा कि उन्हें धन का लालच इस असली मुबाहसे के लिए नहीं खींच रहा प्रत्युत सत्या सत्य के निर्णय के लिए वह तय्यार हो कर मैदान में आना चाहते हैं। इस के पश्चात् मिर्ज़ा जी ने नई बाधा खड़ी की। उन्हों ने पण्डित लेखराम से भी २४००) जमा कराने की नई याचना की। इसी प्रकार प्रत्येक नए पत्र में मिर्ज़ा जी ने नए नए अड़ङ्गे लगाए, जिन के मुंह तोड़ परन्तु सभ्यतामय उत्तर पण्डित लेखराम ने दिए। यह पत्र व्यवहार ५ अगस्त १८८५ तक बराबर जारी रहा किन्तु परिणाम कुछ भी न निकला।

इसी अन्तर में पण्डित लेखराम ने अमृतसर और लाहौर में प्रचार करने के पश्चात् १८ अप्रैल को पेशावर को प्रस्थान किया। आर्य समाज पेशावर के पहले भी प्रधान थे। २५, २६ अप्रैल को अपने प्रिय आर्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित हुए और उस अवसर पर व्याख्यान देने के अति-रिक्त २६ अप्रैल तक धर्म प्रचार किया। आगामी वर्ष के चु-नाव में पण्डित लेखराम ही प्रधान नियत हुए और फिर पंजाब की ओर लौट आए। इस ओर भी बराबर धर्म-प्रचार करते हुए २० जुलाई से ५ अगस्त तक अमृतसर में निवास किया। इस स्थान में उन्हें मिर्ज़ा गुलाम अहमद के उत्तरों की प्रतीक्षा रही।

जब मिर्ज़ा जी की ओर से कोई उत्तर न मिला और तीन मास व्यतीत हो गए (जिस अन्तर में पं० लेखराम धर्म प्रचार का कार्य करते और साथ साथ पुस्तकें लिखने का काम भी जारी रखते गए) तो आर्य मुसाफ़िर ने मिर्ज़ा जी को स्मरणार्थ एक पोस्टकार्ड भेजा जिस के उत्तर में मिर्ज़ा जी ने लिखा—"क़ादियां कोई दूर तो नहीं है, आन कर के मुलाक़ात कर जाओ। उम्मीद कि यहां पर बाहमी (परस्पर) मिलने से शरायत तै हो जावेंगी।" धर्मवीर आर्य्य मुसाफ़िर को तो केवल हाथ अटकाने को स्थान चाहिए था, वह उसी समय मिर्ज़ा जी की परीक्षा के लिए तय्यार हो गए और जिस चालबाज़ बाघ के पास जाने से बड़े २ मतवादी डरते थे निःशङ्क उस के साथ उस के ही मकान में "दस्त पञ्जा" लेने के लिए जा पहुंचे।

पण्डित लेखराम जी पूरे दो मास क़ादियां में रहे। एक ओर तो उन्होंने मिर्ज़ा जी के "इलहामी कोठे" पर जा जा कर उन का नाक में दम कर दिया। तीन बार कई भद्र पुरुषों को साथ ले कर गए और तीनों बार मिर्ज़ा जी को निरुत्तर करके लौटे। और दूसरी ओर खुले व्याख्यानों में न केवल मिर्ज़ा जी के "बुराहीन" की ही क़लई खोली, बल्कि उन की इलहामी चालबाज़ियों का भी भान्डा फोड़ दिया, जिस से मिर्ज़ा जी की आमदनी में बड़ी बाधा पड़ गई। इन्हीं दिनों क़ादियां में आर्य्य समाज भी स्थापित हो गया जिस में मिर्ज़ा जी के फांसे हुए बहुत से भोले हिन्दू भी सत्यासत्य का निर्णय करके सत्य की शरण में आगए।

मिर्ज़ा गुलाम अहमद का "नाक में दम" कर और क़ादियां में एक "ज़बरदस्त" आर्य समाज स्थापन करके पण्डित लेखराम फिर अन्य स्थानों में वैदिक धर्म का प्रचार करने चले गए। बटाला आदि नगरों में धर्मोपदेश देकर ध्यान से आत्माओं को शीतल सद्धर्म रूपी जल पिलाते हुए आर्य्य पथिक अम्बाले पहुंच कर अपना कर्त्तव्य पालन कर रहे थे जब उन्होंने सुना कि क़ादियां के "विष्णुदास" नामी हिन्दू को बुला कर मिर्ज़ा जी ने कहा है कि यदि वह एक साल के अन्दर मुसलमान न हो जायगा तो उन के "इलहाम के मुताबिक़" वह मर जायगा। २ दिसम्बर, १८८५ को विष्णुदास को मिर्ज़ा जी ने यह धमकी दी और तार पहुंचते ही ४ दिसम्बर को पण्डित लेखराम बिजली की तरह क़ादियां में आ चमके। उसी समय विष्णुदास को बुला कर समझाया और खुले व्याख्यान में मिर्ज़ा जी की फिर से वह क़लई खोली गई, कि भूला भटका भाई सच मुच व्यापक विष्णु भगवान् का दास बन कर आर्य्य समाज का सभासद् बन गया और उसी दिन से मिर्ज़ा जी की कुटिल नीतियों का खण्डन करने लगा।

आर्य्य पथिक के क्रियात्मक आर्य्य मुसाफ़िर बनने तक का वृत्तान्त।

सं० १८८६ ई० के आरम्भ में पण्डित लेखराम की योग्यता की आर्य्य जगत में धूम मच गई थी। "तकज़ीब बुराहीन अहमदिया" का प्रमथ भाग ठीक प्रबन्ध न होने से अभी छप नहीं सका था परन्तु उस की नक़लें हो कर दूर दूर पहुंच चुकी थी। महम्मदियों के मुक़ाबिले पर आर्य्य समाजियों ने उस पुस्तक की युक्तियों से काम लेना आरम्भ कर दिया था। जहां कहीं मुसलमानों से मुबाहिसे की छेड़ छाड़ होती वा उन का कुछ भी ज़ोर होता वहीं से पण्डित लेखराम को निमन्त्रण पहुंच जाता।

इस ईसवी सन् के मार्च मास में मिर्ज़ा ग़ुलाम अहमद होशियारपुर में गए। वहां आर्य समाज के प्रसिद्ध सभासद मास्टर मुरलीधर जी गवर्नमेन्ट स्कूल में ड्राइङ्ग मास्टर (आलेख्याध्यापक) थे। मास्टर जी उन आर्य्यों में से थे जो वेद विरुद्ध मतों की पोल खोलने के लिए हर समय तय्यार रहते हैं। मिर्ज़ा जी की डींगों को सुन कर मास्टर जी से रहा न गया और ११ मार्च, १८८६ की रात को उन्होंने मिर्ज़ा जी के डेरे पर पहुंच कर महम्मद साहेब के चांद के टुकड़े करने वाले चमत्कार (मोजज़े) पर लेख बद्ध आक्षेप किए। अनुमान ५ वा ६ घन्टों तक प्रश्नोत्तर होते रहे। फिर १४ मार्च १८८६

के दिन को मिर्ज़ा जी ने यह प्रतिज्ञा स्थापन की रूह (जीवात्मा) अनादि नहीं; पैदा की हुई (हादिस) है। इस प्रश्न के सुनाने और बातें बनाने में ही मिर्ज़ा जी ने दो अढ़ाई घन्टे समाप्त कर दिए और फिर पांच ६ घन्टों तक प्रश्नोत्तर होते रहे। मिर्ज़ा जी को तो इस समय रुपये बटोरने की सूझ रही थी और गम्भीर विषय की पुस्तकों की अपेक्षा बटेर बाज़ी वाली पुस्तकें अधिक बिकती हैं, इस लिए इस मुबाहिसे पर अपने ढङ्ग का निमक मिर्च मसाला चढ़ा कर मिर्ज़ा जी ने एक २६० पृष्ठों की पुस्तक "सुरमा चश्म आरिया" (अर्थात् आर्य्यों की आंखों के खोलने के लिए सुरमा) शीर्षक देकर छपवादी।

पण्डित लेखराम के दिल पर चोट तो इस पुस्तक के छपने से बहुत लगी परन्तु अभी पहली तय्यार की हुई पुस्तक ही नहीं छपी थी; इस लिए उस की छपाई में लग कर इस बात की भी प्रतीक्षा करते रहे कि मास्टर मुरलीधर जी ही उस पुस्तक का उत्तर छपवावें। किन्तु जब जुलाइ से १८८७ को "तक़ज़ीब बुराहीन अहमदिया" का प्रथम भाग छप कर हाथों हाथ बिक गया और आर्य पथिक को पता लगा कि मास्टर मुरलीधर जी को सरकारी नौकरी के कारण उत्तर लिख कर छपवाने का अवकाश नहीं है तो उन्होंने स्वयम् ही मिर्जा के दूसरे आक्रमण का उत्तर भी तय्यार किया, और उस का नाम रक्खा "नुसख़ाख़ब्त अहमदिया"। इस नाम करण का हेतु स्वयम् आर्यमुसाफ़िर ने इस प्रकार दिया है—" असल में यह मिर्जा " के एतराज़ माक़ूलियत से कोसों दूर हैं और साथ ही बेजाशेख़ी और लगवीयत (झूठ) से तमाम किताब भरपूर है जो रास्ती नहीं बल्कि

इलहामीख़ब्त (पागलपन) मालूम होता है, पस ज़रूर हुआ कि हम वैदिक हिकमत से उन के ख़ब्त का इलाज़ करें, ताकि ख़ुदा सेहत दे; बिना बरां इस रिसाले का नाम "नुसख़ा ख़ब्त अहमदिया" रक्खा गया।" *

सं० १८८६ के प्रथम भाग में विविध स्थानों में प्रचार कर के पण्डित लेखराम फिर अप्रैल के अन्तिम सप्ताह में पेशावर आर्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव पर पहुंचे और अपने व्याख्यानों से अपने प्रथम स्थापन किए हुए आर्यसमाज को लाभ पहुंचाया। फिर स्थान स्थान पर व्याख्यान देने के साथ साथ ही पादरी खड़कसिंह के छः व्याख्यानों के उत्तर लिख कर भी छपवाए और बहुत सी छोटी छोटी पुस्तकें अवैदिक सिद्धान्तों के खण्डन में निकालीं।

पण्डित लेखराम के इस वर्ष के काम के विषय में १६ अक्टूबर, १८८६ की आर्य पत्रिका में एक महाशय ने इस प्रकार लिखा था :—

"लेखराम आर्य समाज लाहौर का एक कट्टर सभासद है। इस ने अपना जीवन समाज के लिये बलिदान कर दिया है। यह अरबी और फ़ारसी का बड़ा विद्वान् तथा वेत्ता है। अमृतसर आर्य समाज के गत वार्षिकोत्सव में इस ने विरोधी मतों की समीक्षा पर एक उत्तम व्याख्यान दिया। इस के प्रयत्न से कहूटा के लोगों ने आर्यसमाज स्थापित करदी है। इस ने मियानी, पिण्डदादनखां, भेरा आदि में अत्युत्तम व्याख्यान दिए। मजीठा में लाला-

गन्डामल असिस्टेन्ट इन्जिनियर को आर्य समाज की सचाइयों पर विश्वास दिलाया और अब कश्मीर में धार्मिक शास्त्रार्थ के लिए जारहा है।"ऊपर के उद्धृत लेख से एक तो यह पता लगता है कि अपने निवास स्थान कहुटे में भी आर्य समाज की स्थापना के यही साधन बने थे। और दूसरे यह ज्ञात होता है कि इन के अर्थ-त्याग का सम्मान करना आर्य जाति ने आरम्भ कर दिया था। लोकोक्ति प्रसिद्ध है कि—" घर के जोगी जोगिना, आन गांव के सिद्ध।" परन्तु ज्ञात होता है कि लेखराम उन थोड़े से आदमियों में से थे जिन का अपने ग्राम में भी मान्य होता है।

सं० १८८७ के आरम्भ में पण्डित लेखराम को "आर्य्यगज़ट फीरोज़पुर" का सम्पादक बनाया गया। उस समय पञ्जाब के आर्य्यसमाजों के हाथ में अंग्रेज़ी के "आर्यपत्रिका" के अतिरिक्त अपने विचार तत्काल सर्व साधारण तक पहुंचाने का एक मात्र साधन "आर्य्य गज़ट" नामी उर्दू का साप्ताहिक ही था। पण्डित लेखराम के प्रबल हाथों में आ कर यह एक दम से चमक उठा। अनुमान दो वर्षों तक पण्डित लेखराम इस समाचार पत्र का सम्पादन करते रहे। उन दिनों के लेख पन्थाइयों के दिलों को हिला देने वाले निकला करते थे।

यद्यपि सम्पादकी बोझ उठाए हुए भी लेखराम जी आर्य्यसमाजों के जलसों पर जाते रहे और धर्म प्रचार करते रहे किन्तु एक स्थान में टिक जाने से प्रमाणों को ढूंढ कर हवाले देने और अपनी पुस्तकों को छपवाने की उन को बड़ी

सुगमता मिल गई। इन्हीं दिनों "तर्क ज़ीवबुराहीन अहमदिया" का प्रथम भाग छपा और "नुसख़ा ख़ब्त अहमदिया" भी तय्यार हो गया। इसी अन्तर में दस बारह अन्य छोटी पुस्तकें तय्यार हुईं और कुछ छप भी गईं, और इन्हीं दिनों अन्य बहुत सी बड़ी पुस्तकों के लिए मसाला इकट्ठा होता रहा।

ऋषि जीवन का अन्वेषण और धर्म प्रचार का विस्तार ।

अब तक यद्यपि नाम "आर्य मुसाफ़िर" था परन्तु यात्रा की परिधी संकुचित सी ही थी। पञ्जाब से बाहर आर्य्य पथिक ने पांव नहीं रक्खा था। तब यात्रा की परिधि में विस्तार के सामान पैदा होने लगे।

ऋषि दयानन्द का अन्त्येष्टि संस्कार हुए साढ़े चार वर्ष व्यतीत हो चुके थे। आर्य्य विभिन्न जनता की ओर से भी ऋषि के जीवन चरित्र की मांग पर मांग आरही थी। टका सीधा कर ने वालों ने साधारण लेख छाप कर ऋषि के जीवन को सन्दिग्ध बनाना भी आरम्भ कर दिया था। सांसारिक विभूतियों पर लात मार ने वाले योगी को सिद्धियों का साधक बनाना और मनुष्य पूजा की जड़ पर कुल्हाड़ी रखने वाले ईश्वर भक्त को पूज्य अवतार बतलाना आरम्भ हो गया था, और आर्य्य समाजियों के कानों पर जूं भी नहीं रेंगती थी। ऐसे समय में मुलतान आर्य्य समाज ने अपने १२ अप्रैल, सं० १८८८ के अधिवेशन में सम्मति दी कि पण्डित लेखराम को स्वामी दयानन्द के जीवन सम्बन्धी वृत्तान्त इकट्ठा करने के लिए नियत किया जाय। मुलतान आर्य्यसमाज का यह प्रस्ताव आर्य्य प्रतिनिधि सभा पञ्जाब के १ जुलाई, सं० १८८८ के अधिवेशन में पेश हो कर स्वीकार हुआ। तब पण्डित

लेखराम जी से इस के विषय में पत्र व्यवहार शुरू हुआ और नवम्बर, १८८८ में "आर्य्य गज़ट" के सम्पादन को छोड़ कर पण्डित लेखराम सचमुच आर्य्य मुसाफ़िर बन गए ।

इस समय तक यद्यपि पण्डित लेखराम का नाम मैं सुन चुका था और अमृतसर के व्याख्यान का भी आनन्द ले चुका था, परन्तु अधिक परिचय मेरा आर्य्य पथिक के साथ नहीं हुआ था। नवम्बर के मध्य में पण्डित लेखराम ऋषि जीवन सम्बन्धी घटनाओं की वृत्तान्त जमा कर ने निकले और लाहौर से कार्य्य आरम्भ किया। इस वर्ष के लाहौर आर्य्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में पण्डित लेखराम ने २८ नवम्बर को, धर्म चर्चा के समय, शङ्का समाधान में बड़ा प्रसिद्ध भाग लिया, जिस के कारण उपदेशकों में उन का पद ऊंचा समझा जाने लगा। उसके पश्चात् १२ दिसम्बर की शाम को रेल से पण्डित लेखराम जी जालन्धर नगर में पधारे। १३ को प्रातः काल मेरे साथ पण्डित जी का वार्त्तालाप होता रहा, जिस से हम दोनों एक दूसरे के अधिक समीप हुए। उसी सायं-काल पण्डित जी का "वेद ईश्वरीय ज्ञान" विषय पर, आर्य्य मन्दिर जालन्धर शहर में, व्याख्यान हुआ। मेरी "दैनिक वृत्तान्त पत्रिका" में लिखा है, फ़िर पण्डित लेखराम का व्याख्यान सुनने गया। जन संख्या ५०० थी जिस में सुशिक्षित सभ्य अधिक सम्मिलित थे। पण्डित जी की स्मरण शक्ति आश्चर्य मय है।

जालन्धर नगर से चल कर शायद मार्ग में एक दो स्थानों पर ठहरते हुए पण्डित लेखराम सीधे मथुरा पहुंचे।

वहां सारा दिसम्बर मास वह भी स्वामी विरजानन्द सरस्वती जी के शिष्य-गण पण्डित युगलकिशोर, पण्डित दामोदर चौबे पण्डित हरिकृष्णादि से ऋषि दयानन्द और उन के गुरु सम्बन्धी वृत्तान्त पूछते और लिखते रहे।

सं० १८८६ के प्रथम भाग में पण्डित लेखराम जी बराबर संयुक्त-प्रान्त में ही काम करते रहे। जहां ऋषि जीवन सम्बन्धी अन्वेषण के लिए पहुंचते वहां व्याख्यान भी अवश्य देते, और यह व्याख्यान वेदमत मण्डन तथा महम्मदी मत खन्डन में ही होते। मथुरादि से ऋषि जीवन का मसाला इकट्ठा करते हुए आर्य्य पथिक अजमेर पहुंचे। उस समय अजमेर नगर में बड़ा भारी आत्मिक भौंचाल आया हुआ था। आर्य्य समाज की दिन दूनी रात चौगुनी उन्नति देख कर पौराणिकों, ईसाइयों, मुसलमानों और जीव रक्षा का दम मारने वाले जैनियों तक ने विरोध का झन्डा खड़ा कर दिया था। इस का विशेष कारण यह भी था कि उन्हीं दिनों पण्डित लेखराम की "तकज़ीब" और "नुसख़ा ख़ब्त" पढ़ कर अजमेर का एक अब्दुलरहमान नामी व्यक्ति महम्मदी मत को तिलाञ्जली देकर वैदिक धर्म की शरण में आया था। आर्य्य समाज की ओर से इसे सोमदत्त का सौम्य नाम दिया गया था। इस से मुसलमान बहुत ही दुखित थे और इन्होंने ही पौराणिक मण्डल को उत्तेजना देकर पहले उन का उत्सव रचवाया। आर्य्य बेचारे छेड़ छाड़ से किनारा किए बैठे थे कि पौराणिकों के दूत उन के घरों में पहुंच २ कर ललकारने लगे। वृद्धों ने

तो इस की कुछ परवा न की किन्तु १० वा १२ युवकों से न सहन हो सका और वे प्रश्नोत्तर के लिए पौराणिकों के निमन्त्रणानुसार पहुंच ही गए। जब प्रश्नोत्तर का समय आया और एक आर्य्य युवक ने पहला ही प्रश्न किया तो पौराणिक दल घबरा गया और कुछ बदमाशों ने शोर मचा कर, कि आर्य्यों ने एक मूर्त्ति को खन्डित कर दिया है, आर्य्यों पर लात, घूंसा और लाठी से आक्रमण कर दिया। इस समय सोमदत्त ने बड़ी बहादुरी दिखाई और पटे के हाथ से भीड़ को हटाता हुआ आर्य्य युवकों को बचा लाया।

जब इधर कुछ पेश न गई तो मुसलमानों की बारी आई। उन्होंने न केवल आर्य्य समाज के विरुद्ध खुले व्याख्यानों में ही आक्रमण शुरु किए बल्कि सहस्रों ने इकट्ठे हो कर यह धमकी दी कि यदि कोई आर्य्य बोला तो जान से मारा जायगा। "रहनुमा" नामी एक मासिक पत्र भी मुसलमानों ने निकाला था।

यह समय था जब पण्डित लेखराम अजमेर नगर में पधारे। पण्डित लेखराम के पहुंचने पर आर्य्य पुरुषों को अपनी चिन्ता तो भूल गई, उल्टी इन की रक्षा की चिन्ता जाग उठी। विचार किया गया कि पण्डित जी की रक्षा के लिए चार पहरे वाले उन के पास रहें। जब धर्म वीर ने इस घुस पुस को सुना तो झिड़क कर कहा—"मुझे कोई ज़रूरत नहीं" तुम लोग बड़े डरपोक हैं। कोई क्या कर सक्ता है।?" दूसरे दिन ही मुसलमानों की ओर से आदमी आने लगे जिन से पंडित जी

वराबर बात चीत करते रहे। व्याख्यानों की धूम मच गई। एक मौलवी ने पंडित जी से हिन्दी पढ़ने की इच्छा प्रकट की। आर्य्य समाजियों के गुप्त रीति से मना करने पर उन को झिड़क दिया और मौलवी को पढ़ाने लग गए। अन्त को वहां के आर्य्यों से एक नया मासिक "वैदिक विजय पत्र" निकलवा कर उस की सहायता अपने लेखों से करते रहे। जो "जिहाद" नामी प्रसिद्ध पुस्तक पंडित लेखराम की मिलती है वह पहले इसी वैदिक विजय पत्र में क्रमशः निकली थी।

इन्हीं दिनों अजमेर से बाहर भी राजपूताने के कुछ स्थानों में ऋषि जीवन सम्बन्धी अन्वेषण करते हुए नसीराबाद छावनी में पहुंचे थे। वहां महम्मदियों से शास्त्रार्थ छिड़ गया। शहर कोतवाल शराबी कायस्थ था जिस ने शास्त्रार्थ को मध्य में ही बन्द कर दिया। उसी रात शराबी कोतवाल को लक़वा मार गया और दूसरे दिन वह मर गया। सर्व साधारण में प्रसिद्ध हो गया कि उस दुष्ट को पंडित जी का शास्त्रार्थ बन्द करने का फल मिला। अन्य उपदेशक शायद सर्व-साधारण के इस मिथ्या विश्वास से अनुचित लाभ उठाते किन्तु आर्य्य पथिक ने लोगों के इस भ्रम को दूर करने का बहुत ही प्रयत्न किया।

इस के पश्चात् पता लगता है कि पंडित जी छुट्टी ले कर अपने गृह पर आए। थोड़े दिनों ही घर पर ठहर कर भादों के आरम्भ में ही फिर अपने काम पर चले गए। २४ अगस्त के सद्धर्म्म-प्रचारक में छपा था—"पंडित लेखराम जी ने

सवातह उमरी (जीवन चरित्र) का काम फिर शुरु कर दिया है। चन्दरोज़ हुए वह मेरठ की तरफ़ रवाना हुए। अब पहले मुमालिक मगरबी व शिमाली (पश्चिमोत्तर देश) में दौरा लगाएंगे।"

मालूम होता है कि मेरठ में आर्य्य पथिक बहुत दिनों तक ठहरे, क्योंकि "किनवेद बेवगान" नामी पुस्तक मेरठ के रामचन्द्र वैश्य से छपवा कर माघ १९४६ के आरम्भ में ही सद्धर्म प्रचारक के कार्यालय में पहुंच गई थी। उस लघु पुस्तक की समालोचना मेरी लिखी हुई १ फरवरी, १८९० के सद्धर्म प्रचारक में छपी है। इस पुस्तक में शास्त्रीय प्रमाणों से भी विधवा विवाह का ही समर्थ न किया गया था। इसी लिए मुझे पहले पहल उस समय यह संदेह हुआ था कि आर्य पथिक नियोग को आपत् काल का धर्म कदाचित नहीं मानते हैं। समालोचना करते हुए मैंने लिखा था—"तर्ज़ेतहरीर से वाज़ह होता है कि पण्डित साहेब नियोग को वेदानुकूल नहीं मानते, बल्कि पुनर्विवाह, हरबेवा का जाइज़ समझते हैं। हमारी राय में वेहतर हो अगर पण्डित साहेब इस बहस को छेड़ें, ताकि इस अमर मुतनाज़िया का कुछ फ़ैसला हो और आर्य्य समाज एक ख़ास नियम का पाबन्द हो जावे।" इस विषय को इसी स्थान में समाप्त करने के लिए इतना लिखने की आवश्यकता है कि सम्वत् १९५०वि० तक पंडित लेखराम नियोग के विषय में कुछ सन्दिग्ध सी सम्मति रखते थे और प्रायः प्रसिद्ध आर्य्य समाजियों के साथ इस विषय में बात चीत करते रहते थे। जब सम्वत् १९५१ में मेरे साथ अधिक परिचय हुआ और खुली बात

चीत होने लगी उस समय मेरे साथ विचार करने पर ही उन्हों ने इस विषय में अपनी सम्मति बदल ली थी और इसी लिए उन्हों ने पादरी टी. विलियम्स और पंडित शिवनारायण अग्निहोत्री (वर्तमान देव समाजी गुरु) की शङ्काओं का समाधान करने के लिए, "मसलानियोग" नामी ट्रैक्ट लिखा जो "कुलियात आर्य्य मुसाफ़िर" के २७६ पृष्ठ से आरम्भ होता है। मुझे भली प्रकार विदित है कि अपनी मृत्यु से एक वर्ष पहले वह द्विजों के लिए नियोग का ही विधान ठीक समझते थे, परन्तु शूद्रों के लिए पुनर्विवाह को ही शास्त्र सम्मत मानते थे। मेरठ से चल कर आर्य पथिक कोल (अलीगढ़) में पहुंचे । उपनगर बरौठा में उन्हीं दिनों आर्य समाज स्थापित हुआ था, वहां १६ जनवरी १८६० को व्याख्यान दिया जिस में प्रायः राजपूत अधिक सम्मिलित हुए और आर्य्य समाज को २० नए सभासद्द मिले। फिर २१ और २२ जनवरी को ख़ास अलीगढ़ में दो व्याख्यान दे कर आगे चल दिए।

इस के पश्चात् आर्य्य पथिक संयुक्त प्रान्त और पंजाब के नगरों में सद्धर्म का प्रचार करते हुए ऋषि दयानन्द के जीवन सम्बन्धी घटनाएं लिखते रहे, और भ्रमण करते हुए बीमार हो कर अगस्त, सं० १८६० के मध्य भाग में जालन्धर पहुंचे। यहां पहुंच कर उन को ज्वर बड़े ज़ोर से चढ़ा। लाला देवराज के शान्ति सरोवर पर एकान्त में उन का डेरा कराया गया।

एक दिन कचहरी से ३ बजे ही लौट कर मैं पण्डित लेखराम जी को देखने चला गया। पण्डित जी चारपाई पर बैठे

हांप रहे थे और आंखों से ज्वर १०५ दर्जे से बढ़ा हुआ मालूम होता था। मैंने नमस्ते की, उत्तर कुछ न मिला। मैंने पीठ के पीछे हाथ डाल कर लेटाना चाहा; मेरी बाँह ज़ोर से झटक दी और क्रोध में भरे हुए बोले—"बस साहेब! मैं यहां नहीं ठहरूंगा। यह आर्य्य गृह नहीं है।" मैंने पूछा—"पण्डित जी क्या हुआ?" क्रोध से रुक रुक कर बोले—"पहले लाला देवराज को बुलाओ। मैं पीठ पीछे बात करना पाप समझता हूं" लाला देवराज जी के लिए आदमी दौड़ाया गया। वह शीघ्र ही पहुंच गए। धर्म वीर के होंठ फड़कने लगे और बोले-"आप काहे के आर्य हो। इस तरह "ओ३म्" भगवान् की हतक करते हो।" इतने में मैंने वहां नियत किए हुए भृत्यु को अलग लेजा कर पूछा तो पता लगा कि मामला क्या है। पण्डित लेखराम ज्वर से पीड़ित चारपाई पर पड़े "ओ३म्" "ओ३म्" बोल रहे थे कि एक जन्म के ब्राह्मण का लड़का वहां पहुंचा। चारपाइ के सामने कुछ दूर गमले पड़े थे। तीन चार गमलों के ऊपर "ओ३म्" शब्द लिखा हुआ था। ब्राह्मण के लड़के ने जूता उतार कर कुछ गाली बक, गमले पर लिखे "ओ३म्" पर जूते लगाने शुरु किए, पण्डित जी से सहन न हुआ, दुष्ट की ओर लपके। लड़का भागा, पीछे स्वयम् भी भागे। भला नट खट लड़के को ज्वर से पीड़ित लेखराम कैसे पकड़ सकते। जब वह आंखों से ओझल हो गया, तो हांपते हुए लौटे और चार पाई पर बैठ गए।

मैंने लौट कर पण्डित जी को शान्त करना चाहा और कहा—"पण्डित जी, भला देवराज जी का क्या अपराध है।

उस शैतान को क्या इन्हों ने बुलाया था ! " उत्तर मिला—
"क्यों नहीं गमले को ऊंची जगह पर रक्खा जहां लड़के का हाथ
न पहुंच सक्ता। ईश्वर जानता है मैं यहां नहीं ठहरूंगा।"

देवराज जी के नम्र उत्तर पर और भी बिगड़ने लगे तब
मैंने उन को भेज कर पण्डित जी को लेटा दिया और मुट्ठी चापी
कर के सुलाया यह घटना जहां आर्य्य पथिक की निर्बलता को
प्रकट करती है, वहां साथ ही यह भी जतलाती है कि अपने
मन्त्रों के लिए उन के हृदय में कैसी भक्ति थी।

दो सप्ताह तक पण्डित लेखराम ज्वर से पीड़ित रहे। ज्वर
उतर ते ही निर्बलता को सर्वथा भुला कर उन्हों ने २६ अगस्त
१८७० के दिन पहला व्याख्यान दिया। फिर ३१ अगस्त
को दूसरा व्याख्यान सद्धर्म्म विषय पर स्थानीय आर्य्य समाज
के साप्ताहिक अधिवेशन में दिया। उसी समय नकोदर से समा-
चार आया कि वहां का गिरदावर क़ानूंगो, जो कुछ काल से
महम्मदी हो गया था, अपने संशय निवृत्त करना चाहता है।
दूसरे दिन ही पण्डित जी निर्बलता की परवाह न करते हुए
इक्के की सवारी से, बहुत से आर्य्य भाइयों सहित नकोदर में
पहुंचे। चार दिन बराबर धूमधाम से व्याख्यान होते रहे।
एक साधू और एक पौराणिक पंडित के साथ मूर्ति पूजा वि-
षय पर शास्त्रार्थ भी होता रहा, जिस में दोनों निरुत्तर हो
गए। अन्तिम दिवस २५ सभासद् बना कर आर्य्य समाज स्था-
पित किया।

जालन्धर से लाहौर पहुंच कर आर्य्य प्रतिनिधि सभा के प्रधान को मिले और फिर सीधे सहारनपुर पहुंचे। वहां से १२ सितम्बर को कानपुर चल दिए। २० सितम्बर तक बराबर कानपुर में ऋषि जीवन सम्बन्धी अन्वेषण करते रहे और वहां बड़ी जन,उपस्थिति में कई व्याख्यान दिए। सृष्टि उत्पत्ति विषय पर जो अन्तिम व्याख्यान था उस की बहुत ही प्रशंसा हुई।

कानपुर से पंडित लेखराम सीधे प्रयाग पहुंचे। प्रयाग में ही उन दिनों श्री स्वामी दयानन्द जी महाराज का स्थापन किया हुआ वैदिक यन्त्रालय भी था और पंडित भीमसेन और पंडित ज्वालादत्त भी उस में काम करते थे। यहां पंडित लेखराम एक मास तक पत्र व्यवहार देखते रहे। इसी समय कुछ प्रूफ देखते हुए आर्य्य पथिक ने पंडितों की पोपलीला का पता लगा, वेदभाष्य का एक छपा हुआ अङ्क जलवा दिया था और उस का संशोधन करा कर फिर से छपवाया था। अपने पाठकों के समझाने के लिए यह लिखना आवश्यक है कि वेदभाष्य का संस्कृत भाग ऋषि दयानन्द का अपना लिखवाया हुआ है, परन्तु भाषार्थ सब पंडितों का किया हुआ है। जिन पंडितों ने मूल संस्कृत भाष्य में भी हस्ताक्षेप करने से सङ्कोच नहीं किया था वे भला भाषार्थ में कब चूकने वाले थे जहां सारा काम ही उन के हाथों में था। यहां पंडित लेखराम के हलचल डालने का परिणाम था कि वेदभाष्य के अङ्कों के अवलोकन का भार कुछ प्रसिद्ध आर्य्य पुरुषों पर डाला गया था।

मिर्ज़ापुर आर्य्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव का हाल सुन कर पंडित लेखराम २४ अक्टूबर, १८६० ई० को उधर चल दिए। पहले दिन हवन के पश्चात् उसी विषय पर पंडित लेखराम का युक्तियुक्त तथा सारगर्भित व्याख्यान हुआ। मेरे संवाद दाता लिखते हैं कि ऐसा ज़बरदस्त व्यख्यान मिर्ज़ापुर निवासियों ने पहले कभी नहीं सुना था। उसी दिन शाम को धर्म विषय पर व्याख्यान हुआ। दूसरे दिन आर्य्य समाज के दश नियमों पर अपना प्रसिद्ध व्याख्यान दिया जिस को सुन कर बालवृद्ध सभी आर्य्य समाज के गुण गाने लगे।

आर्य्य समाज के सभासद् एक कलवार थे। पंडित जी ने उन्हें समझाया कि जब वैश्य का काम करते हो तो यज्ञोपवीत से क्यों वंचित हो। सभासद् ने उत्तर दिया—"महाराज! मेरा यज्ञोपवीत यहां कौन करायगा?" वहां उत्तर में क्या देर थी "मैं कराऊंगा; देखूं कौन सा आर्य्य समाजी पंडित है जो सम्मिलित न होगा।" बस फिर क्या था। यज्ञोपवीत का समय नियत किया गया। न केवल नगर के प्रसिद्ध लोग ही सम्मिलित हुए प्रत्युत पण्डित घनश्याम और रामप्रकाशादि जन्म के ब्राह्मण पण्डितों ने स्वयम् संस्कार कराया और धर्मवीर लेखराम के धैर्य देने पर विरादरी आदि की धमकियों की कुछ भी परवाह न की।

मिर्ज़ापुर के एक वकील बड़े कट्टर मौलवी थे और साथ ही शहर के गुण्डों के सरदार। मिर्ज़ापुर अपने गुण्डों के लिए प्रसिद्ध है। काशी तो गुण्डों के लिए जगत् विख्यात है, किन्तु

मिर्ज़ापुर का लोहा उस ने भी माना हुआ है। काशी की कजरी का एक पद है:—

"कासी जी में सोंटा चलेगा मिरज़ापुर तरवार"।

मिर्ज़ापुर के गुण्डों के सर्दार मौलवी वकील एक दिन पण्डित लेखराम के साथ मज़हबी छेड़ छाड़ के लिए पहुंचे। भला आर्य्य मुसाफ़िर के सामने ठहरना कुछ हंसी ठट्ठा था; थोड़ी देर में ही निरुत्तर हो कर चले गए। दूसरे दिन मुबाहसे की तय्यारी कर के आए। आर्य्यसमाज के प्रधानादि ने उन की नियत बद देख कर अस्वीकार किया, किन्तु धर्मवीर ने निर्भय हो कर शास्त्रार्थ करना स्वीकार कर लिया। शहर में हुल्लड़ मच गया। आर्य्य भाइयों ने पण्डित जी को बाहर जाने से मना किया किन्तु उन सब ने सायंकाल को आश्चर्य के साथ देखा कि धर्मवीर अकेले डन्डा हाथ में लिए, पगड़ी का शमला छोड़े, घूमने जारहे हैं।

मिर्ज़ापुर से पण्डित लेखराम काशी को गए और मालूम होता है कि दो मास तक वहां ही आन्दोलन करते रहे। काशी के पंडितों के यहां आर्य्य पथिक ने बड़े चक्कर लगाए और पौराणिक पंडितों के विरोध का बराबर हाज़िर जवाबी से मुक़ाबिला किया।

सं० १८९१ ई० के जनवरी मास में पंडित लेखराम काशी से चल दिए। दो दिन रास्ते में डूमरांव राज में निवास कर के १७ जनवरी, १८९१ के दिन दानापुर पहुंचे।

१७ से १२ फ़र्वरी तक दानापुर, बांकीपुर और पटना में ही काम किया। इन स्थानों में व्याख्यान भी हुए किन्तु बड़ी मनोरञ्जक वह वृत्तान्त पत्रिका है जो डाक्टर मुनीलाल शाह, पटना आर्य्य समाज के सामयिक प्रधान, ने मेरे पास भेजी थी। यतः यह पत्रिका बहुत समाचार पत्रों तथा धर्म वीर आर्य्य पथिक के जीवन वृत्तान्तों में छप चुकी है और यतः मुझे भी आगे चल कर इस में लिखित विषयों पर अधिक प्रकाश डालना है, अतएव उस वृत्तान्त पत्रिका को डाक्टर शाह के शब्दों में ही मुद्रित कर देता हूं। डाक्टर शाह लिखते हैं:—

"जिन दिनों श्रीमान् पण्डित लेखराम जी श्री १०८ श्री मद्दयानन्द सरस्वती जी महाराज का जीवन वृत्तान्त संग्रह करते हुए दानापुर से बांकीपुर पधारे थे और इस दीन पुरुष के निज गृह पर आ बिराजे, उस समय यह पुरुष मेडिकल क्लास का विद्यार्थी और बांकीपुर आर्य्य समाज (बादशाही गंज) का मंत्री था श्रीमान् पण्डित जी बांकीपुर में लग भग ६ दिन के ठहरे, इस बीच उन के मकान से एक तड़ित समाचार समाज के नाम अनायास पहुंचा तार द्वारा समाज से जिज्ञासा की गई थी कि पण्डित जी जीवित हैं वा नहीं ? किन्हीं दुर्जन यवन ने खबर भेजी थी कि पण्डित लेखराम मारे गये !!

इस अपूर्व घटना का कारण मैंने पण्डित जी से पूछा पण्डित जी ने उत्तर में यही कहा कि प्रायः यवन लोग हमारे मकान पर ऐसा ही अमङ्गल समाचार भेजा करते हैं अस्तु,

तार का जवाब श्रीमान् पण्डित जी के जीवित रहने का उसी क्षण में भेजा गया परन्तु मुझ को उसी दिन से यवनों के कुटिल बर्त्ताव का अशुभ ख़याल खटकने लगा दूसरे दिन, पण्डित जी ने मुझ को अधिक चिन्तित और उदासीन पा कर पूछा कि "आप आज क्यों मलीन देख पड़ते हैं ? उत्तर में मैंने यही निवेदन किया कि महाराज ! ऐसा न हो कि किसी समय में आप के ऊपर यवनों का अघात पहुंच जावे ! आप को उचित है कि इस असभ्य मूर्ख क़ौम के लोगों से सोच विचार के बर्त्ताव रखना" पण्डित जी विहस कर के कह ने लगे कि मंत्री जी ! मृत्यु एक दिन अवश्य ही; है किन्तु सच्चे धर्म्म के लिये शहीद होने के बराबर कोई दूसरी मृत्यु नहीं–तवारीख पढ़ो और देखो कि इस ज़मीन के पर्दे पर जिन २ लोगों ने अपने धर्म्म के लिये गला दिया है, उस कर्म्म का कैसा प्रभावशाली उत्तम परिणाम निकला है—बस, इन यवनों के विषय में अधिक उद्विग्न होने की कोई आवश्यक्ता नहीं—ऐसे तो ये लोग मुझ को गालियां देते, पत्थर फेंकते, हमारी तसनीफ़ की हुई किताबें जलवाते, जगह-व-जगह यवन मत के पोल, इन दो किताबों 'तक्ज़ीब-बुरा-हीन अहम्मदिया वा नुसखे-खब्त-अहम्मदिया' के द्वारा खुल जाने से अभियोग खड़ा करवाते और नाना प्रकार के कुटिल बर्त्ताव बराबर उत्पन्न करने की कुचेष्टा किया करते हैं—परन्तु मैं इन पर कुछ ध्यान नहीं देता—हम लोगों को उचित है कि अपना कर्त्तव्य कर्म पालन कर ने में किसी प्रकार की त्रुटि न दिख लावें—मैंने पुनः पूछा पंडित जी ! सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश का

फ़ारसी अनुवाद क्यों नहीं करते ? उत्तर में पंडित जी ने यह कहा कि मंत्री जी ! सोच तो रहा हूं कि स्वामी जी महाराज का जीवन चरित्र समाप्त कर सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश का फ़ारसी तर्जुमा कर यवन लोगों के मुख्य प्रदेशों की ओर प्रस्थान करूं-मैंने पुनः पूछा कि मुख्य प्रदेशों से आप का क्या अभिप्राय है ? पंडित जी ने जवाब दिया कि अफ़गानिस्तान, परशिया, अरेबिया, तुर्किस्तानादि मिश्र देशों में भ्रमण कर वैदिक-धर्म्म का प्रचार करना ही हमारा मुख्य अभिप्राय है। मैंने पूछा क्यों पंडित जी ! बिना प्रतिनिधि की आज्ञा के आप कैसे जायंगे ? मंत्री जी ! मैं प्रतिनिधि के आधीन हो कर जाने की इच्छा नहीं करता, बरन् स्वतंत्रता के साथ उपदेश करना चाहता हूं ?—पंडित जी ! इन यवन देशों में आप बिना प्रतिनिधि की सहायता के अपनी आजीविका किस प्रकार निर्वाह करेंगे ? मंत्री जी ! मैं चिकित्सा द्वारा अपना जीवन वृत्ति धारण करूंगा—पंडित जी ! क्या आप ने इस में कुछ परिश्रम किया है ? मंत्री जी ! कुछ तो किया है और शनैः शनैः कर रहा हूं—देखो हमारे पास बहुत से मुफ़ीद नुसखें जमा हुए हैं—जब मैं एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान जाता हूं तो चिकित्सा शास्त्र के जानने वालों से प्रायः मुलाक़ात किया करता हूं और जो २ मुफ़ीद नुसखें उन के पास होते हैं चन्द उन में से नोट कर लेता हूं—इसी अवसर में पंडित जी ने नोट बुक निकाल कर मुझ को भी (प्रार्थना करने पर) दो चार नुसखें धातुआदि के विषय में लिखवा दिये—

पण्डित जी ! कल दिन एक सनातन पौराणिक के यहां जलसा है, इस में अनेक पण्डित गण दूर २ देश से आये हैं उन्हों ने मुझ को सूचना भेजी है कि आप भी अपने पण्डित के सहित आइये सो इस विषय में आप की क्या सम्मति है ? श्रीमान् पण्डित जी ने उत्तर दिया कि अवश्य चलना चाहिये— तदनुसार हम लोग दूसरे दिन पौराणिकों के जलसे में शरीक हुए पण्डित जी का एक व्याख्यान अवतारादि कल्पित विषय के खंडन पर ऐसा प्रभाव शाली और उत्तमता से हुआ कि पौराणिकों को चकाचौंध लग गया, उन में से कोई निरक्षर लण्ठ कषाय वस्त्रधारी स्वामी जी के विरुद्ध में अण्ड बण्ड बकने लगा, पर पण्डित जी ने थोड़े ही समय में उस का मुंह बन्द कर दिया—तत्पश्चात् सन्ध्या को हम लोग अपने स्थान पर लौट आए।

प्रतिदिन स्वर्गवासी पंडित लेखराम जी से धर्म्म सम्बन्धि विषयों के ऊपर बात चीत होते होते एक दिन उन्हों ने पूछा कि मंत्री जी ! ४० चालिस पारे का कुरान आपने देखा है वा नहीं ? मैंने उत्तर दिया नहीं। पंडित जी कहने लगे कि मैं इस पुस्तक की खोज में बहुत दिनों से हूं पर अद्यावधि प्राप्त नहीं भया। मैंने उन से निवेदन किया कि इस स्थान पर एक बृहत् कुतुबख़ाना (Library) मौलवी ख़ुदाबक्सखां बहादुर की है इस कुतुबख़ाने के बराबर कोई दूसरी इधर उधर नहीं है, प्रायः पुस्तकें उन के नबियों के और अरब मुल्क के प्राचीन मौलानों के तसनीफ़ किये हुए हैं सो इस को आप चल के

मुलाहिज़ा कीजिये; शायद वह किताब मिल जाय। पण्डित जी समाचार सुनते ही बड़ा प्रसन्नता और हर्ष पूर्वक उसी समय मुझ को लेकर कुतुबखाने को आये और किताबें देखना आरम्भ किया, ईश्वर की कृपा से वही ४० पारे का कुरान जिस की खोज में इतने दिनों से इच्छुक हो रहे थे, प्राप्त भया; पंडित जी ने प्रायः मुख्य मुख्य विषयों को पिछले १० पारे में से नोट कर लिया और भी बहुत सी बातें अपनी डेली डायरी (रोज़-नामचे) में दर्ज कीं। इस कार्य्यवाही को देख के चन्द यवन लोगों ने जो वहां बैठे थे पंडित जी का नाम व तारीफ़ मुझ से पूछा, पर मैंने किसी कारण वश नाम नहीं बतलाया। इसी क्षण में कुतुब ख़ाने के मालिक भी पहुंच गये। उन्हों ने अपने मौल-वियों से सुना कि अमुक पण्डित ने कुरान (४० पारे) से बहुत से विषय नोट किये। मालिक कुतुब खाना उस ४० पारे के कुरान के विषय में यों कहने लगे कि यह किताब बड़े कठिनता से प्राप्त भया है, अर्थात् जब वह पेशावर गये थे तब एक प्रतिष्ठित मौलवी ने कई सहस्र रुपये लेकर बेचा था, उस मौलवी ने मालिक कुतुबखाने से यों बयान किया था कि यह कुरान (Persia) परशिया (ईरान) के बादशाह के दिवान ने अफ़गानिस्तान (काबुल) में भेजा था, उस आदमी से मुझ को प्राप्त भया। अस्तु, पण्डित जी से और भी बातें होने लगी, पण्डित जी कार्य्य समाप्त होने पर अधिक न ठहरे और हम लोग अपने डेरे पर बात चीत करते हुए लौट आये।

दूसरे दिन हम लोग खड्गविलास नामक यन्त्रालय

में पहुंचे। वहां का समाचार मिला था कि उस प्रेस में "कवि वचन सुधा" जिस को बाबू हरिश्चन्द्र काशी से प्रकाशित करते थे पूरा २ इस पत्र का File है? सुतरां पण्डित जी ने (File) को मांगा और उन लोगों ने भी कृपया दे दिया। पण्डित जी को जो कुछ नोट करना था सो सब लिख लिये; इस पत्र में स्वामी जी के विषय में अनेक उत्तम २ विषय प्रकाशित हुए थे, हुगली (Hoogly) शास्त्रार्थ इसी पत्र में प्रथम २ ज्यों का त्यों छपा था।

स्वामी जी का भ्रमण वृत्तान्त जब पण्डित जी पटने का संग्रह कर चुके, तब कलकत्ता प्रस्थान करने की तय्यारी की। जब तक पण्डित जी यहां ठहरे तब तक सभासदों को पूर्णरूप से उत्साह देते रहे। आप के कई व्याख्यान पवलिक में हुए जिस का असर बहुत ही लाभ कारी भया। पण्डित जी कोई बात जब ऐसी सुनते थे जो उन के आत्मा को प्रिय न होता था तो उस पुरुष से बहुत शीघ्र रंज हो जाते थे परन्तु साथ ही यह रंज बहुत क्षणिक रहता था। कलकत्ता में मैं बराबर पण्डित जी के साथ रहा और बहुत सी शिक्षा उन से प्राप्त की—आप को तवारीख़ का बड़ा शौक़ था, अतएव बहुत से विषय का विस्तृत ज्ञान आप हासिल किये हुए थे"—

१३ फरवरी सं० १८९१ के दिन आर्य पथिक बांकीपुर से हौड़ा जाने वाली गाड़ी में सवार हुए और १४ फरवरी को कलकत्ते पहुंच कर आर्य्यावर्त्त समाचार पत्र के कार्यालय में डेरा किया।

इसी वर्ष १२ अप्रैल को हरद्वार के कुम्भ का स्नान था और एक मास पहले से ही बड़ा भारी मेला लगने वाला था। ऋषि दयानन्द के परलोकगमन के पश्चात् यह पहला ही कुम्भ था, और मैंने इस अवसर पर प्रचार के लिए बड़ा बल दिया था। मेरे लेखों को कलकत्ते में पढ़ कर आर्य पथिक को भी बहुत जोश आया। उन्होंने ७ मार्च, १८६१ के आर्य्या-वर्त्त में मेरे लेख के साथ सर्वथा सहमत हो कर, मुझे आज्ञा दी कि उन के हिसाब में से ५) रुपया आर्य समाज जालन्धर के कोषाध्यक्ष से लेकर कुम्भ प्रचार फन्ड में दाखिल करदूं। पण्डित लेखराम के लेख पर पंजाब और संयुक्त-प्रान्त की आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभाएं भी जाग उठीं और मुझे आज्ञा हुई कि प्रचार का प्रबन्ध करने के लिए हरद्वार चला जाऊं। मेरे हरद्वार पहुंचने के तीन दिनों के पश्चात् ही पण्डित लेखराम जी भी कलकत्ते से ५०) चन्दा कर के साथ लिए पहुंच गए थे और जब कार्यवशात् मुझे प्रचार के बीच में से ही जालन्धर लौटना पड़ा तो मेरे निवेदन पर पंडित जी ने राजकुमार जन्मेजय को प्रबन्ध के काम में बड़ी सहायता दी थी। पंडित जी इस से पहले मुझे साधारण परिचित आदमियों में समझा करते थे परन्तु कुम्भ प्रचार के लिए मेरी अपीलों को पढ़ कर वह मुझ से अधिक प्रेम करने लग गए थे। वह ऋषि दयानन्द के बड़े भक्त थे और ऋषि के चरणों में मेरी भक्ति को देख कर ही आर्य्य पथिक मेरे अधिकतः समीप हो गए थे।

कुम्भ प्रचार की समाप्ति पर पं० लेखराम मेरे पास जाल-

न्धर आए और आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा की आज्ञानुसार कुम्भ प्रचार का हाल एक उर्दू ट्रैक्ट की शकल में छपवाया।

लाहौर में पहुंचते ही समाचार मिला कि सिन्ध हैदराबाद में आर्य जाति के कुछ भूषण महम्मदी तथा ईसाई मतों की ओर झुक रहे हैं। इस पर आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा पंजाब के प्रधान की आज्ञा पा कर पंडित लेखराम ने उधर को प्रस्थान किया।

सक्खर आर्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित होने के लिए पंडित लेखराम बैशाख १९४८ के अन्त में चले गए थे। स्वामी (वर्त्तमान पंडित) पूर्णानन्द जी भी "द्वाबा गुरुदास-पुर उपदेशक मंडली" की ओर से उक्त उत्सव में सम्मिलित थे। वहां विस्तृत समाचार मिला कि महम्मदी मत का (सिन्ध) हैदराबाद में ज़ोर है, और साथ ही यह भी पता लगा कि एक आमिल रईस अपने दो लड़कों सहित महम्मदी मत स्वीकार करने को तय्यार हैं। इस से बढ़ कर यह प्रसिद्ध था कि कई युवक ईसाई मत की ओर अधिक झुक रहे हैं।

आर्य्य पथिक यह समाचार सुन कर चुपके से कैसे लौट सक्ते थे; श्री पूर्णानन्द जी सिन्धी भाषा जानते थे, इस लिए उन्हें साथ ले कर पंडित लेखराम ने हैदराबाद का रास्ता लिया। ज्येष्ठ, १९४८ के आरम्भ में ही ईसाई और महम्मदी मतों के खन्डन की हैदराबाद में धूम मच गई। ईसाई मत से युवकों को हिलाने के लिए आर्य पथिक ने उसी स्थान में एक लघु पुस्तक तय्यार किया जिस का शीर्षक रक्खा—"क्या आदम और हव्वा हमारे पहले वालदैन (माता पिता) थे ?"

इस लेख में युक्ति तथा प्रमाण द्वारा सिद्ध किया कि एक मा बाप की सन्तान सारी मनुष्य सृष्टि सिद्ध नहीं होती। इसी प्रबल लेख का सार अपने व्याख्यान में दे कर पंडित लेखराम ने ८ वा १० आर्य्य जाति के युवकों को ईसाई मत के गढ़े से गिरते २ खींच लिया।

सिन्धी रईस, जो महम्मदी मत की ओर झुक रहे थे, दीवान सूर्यमल जी थे। आर्य्य पथिक के हैदराबाद पहुंचने पर वह स्वयम् तो अपने इलाक़े अलीपुर की ओर चले गए, किन्तु उन के दोनों पुत्रों को पण्डित लेखराम जी ने जा घेरा। मेरे पास उस समय का सारा पत्र व्यवहार मौजूद है जिस से पंडित जी की हिम्मत और उन के धर्म रक्षा में उत्साह का पता लगता है। हैदराबाद पहुंचते ही हमारे धर्मवीर दीवान सूर्यमल के पुत्रों के पास गए। बड़े का नाम दीवान मेवाराम था। ये युवक पंडित लेखराम को टालना चाहते थे; किन्तु लेखराम भला कोई टलने वाले आसामी थे! दूसरी, तीसरी, चौथी वार फिर गए और आग्रह किया कि जिस मौलवी पर उन्हें पूर्ण विश्वास हो उस के साथ मुबाहसा करा के सत्या-सत्य का निर्णय करालें। फिर पत्रों की भर-मार करदी। तव मजबूर हो कर मौलवियों को सामने आना पड़ा। मौलवी सय्यद महम्मद-अली-शाह के साथ सब से पहला मुबाहसा हुआ। विवादास्पद विषय यह था कि महम्मद साहेब के पास मोजज़े (Miracles) करामत थे वा नहीं। मौलवी साहेब तङ्ग आ गए और कुछ उत्तर न दे सके। तब दूसरे मौलवियों ने पत्र व्यवहार शुरु किया। मौलवी

महम्मदसद्दीक, हाजीसय्यद-गुलाममहम्मद, मुफ़तीसय्यद फ़ाज़िलशाह, सय्यद-हैदरअलीशाह—इन चार महाशयों की ओर से बड़े २ लम्बे पत्र आए। पण्डित लेखराम ने सिन्धी और उर्दू के पत्रों के उत्तर उर्दू में और फ़ारसी के पत्रों के उत्तर फ़ारसी भाषा में दिए। इस पत्र व्यवहार के पढ़ने से पंडित लेखराम की योग्यता का बड़ा उत्तम प्रमाण मिलता है। इस बड़े प्रयत्न का परिणाम यह हुआ कि दीवान सूर्यमल के दोनों पुत्रों को महम्मदी मत से घृणा हो गई और एक कुलीन आर्य्य परिवार की रक्षा का सौभाग्य आर्य्य पथिक को प्राप्त हुआ। यह जानना इस स्थान में मनोरञ्जक होगा, कि प्रसिद्ध ब्रह्मसमाजी वक्ता श्री प्रिन्सिपल वसवानी एम. ए. उन दिनों हैदराबाद में विद्यार्थी थे और उन के दिल में अपने धर्म शास्त्रों का गौरव, पंडित लेखराम से बात-चीत करने और उन के व्याख्यान सुनने से, बैठा था।

लाडकाना के कुछ बलात्कार से मुसलमान किए हुओं का प्रार्थना पत्र पंडित जी के पास हैदराबाद में ही पहुंचा था। उन लोगों ने शुद्ध हो कर आर्य्य समाज में प्रविष्ट होने की प्रार्थना की थी। किन्तु बीमार होजाने के कारण उस समय पंडित लेखराम उन की प्रार्थना को स्वीकार न करसके। परन्तु लेखराम का शुभ सङ्कल्प फिर फलीभूत हुआ और अनेक कष्ट सहन कर के उन में सैकड़ों भाई वैदिक-धर्म की शरण में आ कर परमार्थ रूपी धन को सञ्चय कर रहे हैं। हैदराबाद (सिन्ध) में ही पंडित लेखराम ने "क्रिश्चयन मत दर्पण" की तय्यारी शुरू कर दी थी और सृष्टि उत्पत्ति

तथा उस के इतिहास पर जो गवेषणा पूर्वक व्याख्यान उक्त पंडित जी दिया करते थे उस सब का विस्तार पूर्वक वर्णन "तारीख़-ए-दुनिया" नामी ट्रैक्टरूप से उन्हीं दिनों तय्यार किया गया था। सितम्बर (१८९१ ई०) मास में पिछला ट्रैक्ट छप-चुका था, जिस की समालोचना २९ भाद्रपद, सं० १९४८ के प्रचारक में प्रकाशित हुई थी।

मालूम होता है कि सिन्ध हैदरावाद से लौट कर पंडित लेखराम अधिकतः पञ्जाब में ही काम करते रहे। मन्ट-गुमरी आदि समाजों में व्याख्यान दे कर लाहौर पहुंचे और वहां पौराणिक मतखन्डन के व्याख्यानों की झड़ी लगादी। फिर ११ अक्टूबर को अमृतसर आर्य्य समाज के वर्षिकोत्सव के समय "आर्य्य-धर्म" पर ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से बड़ा सार-गर्भित व्याख्यान दिया। इसी व्याख्यान की प्रशंसा सद्धर्म्म-प्रचारक में करते हुए मैंने देशभाषा के शार्टहैन्ड की आवश्यकता जतलाई थी।

नवम्बर के अन्तिम सप्ताह में पंडित लेखराम लाहौर आर्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित रहे जहां २९ नवम्बर को अन्तिम व्याख्यान उन का हुआ, जिस में उन्हों ने सारे संसार के मतों का मुक़ाविला कर के सिद्ध किया कि केवल वैदिक-धर्म ही मनुष्य को शान्ति दे सक्ता है।

दिसम्बर के दूसरे सप्ताह में साधु केशवानन्द उदासी के शोर मचाने पर पंडित लेखराम जी को तार देकर आर्य प्रति-निधि सभा के मन्त्री जी ने बुलाया और नाहन राज में भेजा। साधु केशवानन्द के साथ महाराजा साहेब के सामने बात चीत

भी हुई और फिर आर्य पथिक के चार व्याख्यान हुए जिस के पश्चात् नाहन में आर्य समाज की स्थापना हुई।

राजपूताना के साथ विशेष सम्बन्ध

ऐसा मालूम होता है कि नाहन के शास्त्रार्थ और वहां आर्य समाज स्थापन कर ने के पश्चात् पंडित लेखराम कुछ दिन और पंजाब में काम करते रहे क्योंकि २१ मार्च, १८८२ को उन्होंने मियानी (जि० शाहपुर) में नवीन समाज स्थापित किया था, और फिर राजपूताने की ओर गए। पहली वार जो सम्बन्ध बाबू रामविलास शारदा जी तथा अजमेर के अन्य आर्य पुरुषों से हुआ था वह इस वार अधिक दृढ़ किया। विशेषतः स्वर्गवासी वज़ीरचन्द्र जी के वहां होने से आर्य पथिक को उस प्रान्त से बड़ा प्रेम हो गया था। इस वार जून १८८२ ई० तक पंडित लेखराम बराबर राजपूताने में ही ऋषि जीवन की घटनाओं का पता लगाते रहे। राजपूताने के सर्व प्रसिद्ध रईसों, ठाकुरों और प्रतिष्ठित पुरुषों से मिल कर जो वृत्तान्त आर्य पथिक ने लिखा था वह सब जीवन चरित्र में छप चुका है।

इन दिनों की एक घटना पंडित जी के स्वभाव को दो अंशो में बड़ी विस्पष्टता से प्रगट करती है। बूंदी राज में जाकर ब्रह्मचारी नित्यानन्द जी तथा स्वामी विश्वेश्वरानन्द जी ने शास्त्रार्थ की धूम मचा दी थी। आर्य पुरुषों को जब यह पता लगा तो उन्हों ने दोनों सन्यासी महात्माओं की सहायता के लिए आर्य पथिक को भेजा। कुछ लोगों ने डराया भी कि रि-

यासत का मामला है, कहीं कष्ट न मिले; परन्तु धर्म युद्ध का नरसिंहा जब बज गया तो लेखराम को रोकने वाली कोई भी शक्ति नहीं थी। अकेले सिंह की न्याईं सीधे बूंदी में पहुंचे। वहां जा कर पता लगा कि महाराजा साहेब के विशेष शास्त्रार्थ से इन-कार कर देने पर दोनों सन्यासी महात्मा लौट गए हैं। पंडित लेखराम भी जहाज़पुर में लौट आए, जहां सायंकाल को पहुं-चते ही इन के व्याख्यान का विज्ञापन जहाज़पुर के हाकिम ने (जो आर्य सामाजिक थे) घुमा दिया। रात को व्याख्यान में सर्व साधारण के साथ फ़ौज के सिपाही और अफ़सर भी आए; उन में से पैदल का सूबेदार मुसलमान था। आर्य प-थिक ने अन्य विषयों के साथ महम्मदी मत का भी कुछ कड़ा खन्डन किया। इस पर मुसलमान सूबेदार ने दिल्लगी में कहा—"ऐसे ही तीस-मारखां थे तो बूंदी से क्यों भाग आए।" हाज़िर जवाब लेखराम को सोचने की ज़रूरत न थी; उत्तर दिया—"विपक्षी शास्त्रार्थ से भाग गया और हम लौट आए; कुछ आं हज़रत (अर्थात् महम्मद साहेब) की तरह हिजरत कर के (भाग कर) तो नहीं आए।" इस पर मुसलमान सूबेदार की आंखें लाल हो गईं और उस ने तलवार के कब्ज़े पर हाथ रक्खा। वीर लेखराम ने गरजते हुए कहा—"मुझे तलवार की धमकी दिखाता है; अगर है पठान का तो तलवार निकाल कर मज़ा देख।" हाकिम ने मुसलमान सूबेदार को अलग बैठा दिया और फिर किसी ने चूं तक न की।

अजमेर के सम्बन्ध में यहां बाबू रामविलास शारदा जी

के पत्रों से कुछ भाग उद्धृत करता हूं जिस से आर्य पथिक के स्वभाव और काम पर बड़ा प्रकाश पड़ता है:—

"स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती को छोड़ कर जिन के विषय में कुछ नहीं जानता क्योंकि मैं उन दिनों कालेज में पढ़ता था और आर्य समाज का सभासद् नहीं था मैंने जितने संन्यासी तथा उपदेशक देखे हैं ऐसा सच्चा दृढ़ मोहक्किक निर्लोभी, परिश्रमी, जितेन्द्रिय अपने समय को व्यर्थ न खोने वाला एक भी मनुष्य नहीं देखा। व्याख्यान देने तथा लोगों की शंका समाधान करने के अलावा जो समय उन को मिलता था वह प्रायः पुस्तक देखने तथा वैदिक-धर्म के विरोधियों को उत्तर देने में लगाया करते थे।

आर्य्य समाजों की अंदरूनी हालत पर निहायत अफ़सोस किया करते थे और कहते थे कि तुम्हारे लोगों में पोप घुसे हुए हैं जो मौका पा कर समाजों का सत्यानाश कर डालेंगे और वे पं० भीमसेन का नाम अकसर इस सिलसिले में लिया करते थे और उन की हेर फेर वाली इबारत पर अकसर अत्यन्त क्रोधित होते थे। लोग इस विषयमें पण्डित जी को कट्टर बतला कर टाल दिया करते थे परन्तु जो लोग उन से भले प्रकार विज्ञ थे वे जानते थे कि धर्म वीर आर्य्य पथिक का एक २ शब्द ठीक था। पंडित जी से देश सुधार व वैदिक–धर्म के प्रचार के विषय पर जब २ बातें होतीं तो आप फ़रमाया करते थे कि आर्यावर्त्त का उद्धार उस समय तक नहीं होगा जब तक कि लोग वेदों पर पूरा २ विश्वास नहीं करेंगे। नवीन वेदान्तियों व अन्य

लोगों की दूर दर्शिता से यह ख़याल आम तौर से फैल रहा है कि उपनिषद् वेदों से आला है। भोले लोग यह नहीं जानते कि यह वेदों से ही निकले हैं, कई तो उन के सूक्त के सूक्त ही हैं। मेरा विचार उपनिषदों का तरजुमा कर ने का है जिस की भूमिका में यह सब मसले हल करूंगा। और लोगों के दिलों में वेदों की बज़रगी बिठलाने का यत्न करूंगा। शोक यह है कि पण्डित जी के दिल की दिल में ही रही।

इस बात का विचार मुद्दत से था कि आर्य्य पुरुषों के पढ़ने योग्य पोपलीला से रहित निर्भ्रान्त मनु-भाषा-टीका छपवाई जावे। मैंने इस विचार को पण्डित जी के सामने पेश किया तो आपने इस का भाषान्तर करना मंजूर किया; आप फ़रमाते थे कि मैंने २६ मनुस्मृतियें इकट्ठी की हैं और जो कश्मीर से मनुस्मृति हाथ लगी है वह बहुत नायाब। आप पण्डित गुरुदत्त जी के नोटों के विषय में भी कहते थे और फ़रमाते थे कि श्रीमान् शाहपुरा-धीशों ने भी जिन्हों ने तीन महिने तक मनुस्मृति को श्री स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती जी से पढ़ा था बहुत कुछ बातें बतलाई हैं। छपाई आदि के विषय में सब शरतें निश्चित होने पर आपने कार्य आरम्भ भी कर दिया था और एक अध्याय का भाषान्तर कर भी दिया था जो उन के कागज़ों में मौजूद हैं और मेरे नाम से एक विज्ञापन भी लिख रक्खा था। इस के पश्चात् मैंने अपने शास्त्रोद्धार का स्कीम पेश किया जिस में वेदों, उपनिषदों, छः शास्त्रों का उपनिषद् भाषान्तर व महाभारत व वाल्मीकी रामायण के सार व सूर्य्य

सिद्धान्त, चरक, सुश्रुत आदि का छपवाना, बाद निकालने परिक्षिप्त श्लोकों के, किया। आपने फ़रमाया कि मनुभाष्य के पश्चात् वे बाल्मीकीय रामायण को लेवेंगे जिस के लिये उन्हों ने मसाला तय्यार कर रक्खा था। आप का विचार एक प्राचीन इतिहास लिखने का भी था और अंग्रेज़ी की (Nineteenth century) के मुआफ़िक एक मासिक रिसाला निकालने का इरादा रखते थे जिस में आर्यावर्त्त के सब विद्वान् आर्य्य भ्राता मज़मून भेजा करें। अजमेर से भी दो एक नाम आपने लिखे थे। आपने यहां स्वामी जी के जीवन चरित्र के मुत्तालिक़ बहुत दिनों तक काम किया था और यहां के मशहूर हकीम पीर जी से थोड़ा सा मुबाहसा भी हुआ था जो कि पीछे इन की बड़ी तारीफ़ किया करते थे। आप पादरीग्रे, मौलवी मुरादअली, पंडित शिवनरायण जी शास्त्री आदि बहुत से लोगों से मिले थे जिस का पूरा २ हाल स्वामी जी के जीवन चरित्र के लेखों से मिल रहा है। आप के अजमेर में कम से कम १५ व्याख्यान हुए होंगे जिन में बावजूद (Oratery) न होने के लोग बहुत संख्या में जमा होते थे और बहुत ही संतुष्ट हो कर घर को जाते थे। इतिहास व प्राचीन तहक़ीक़ात से भरे हुए ऐसे व्याख्यान लोगों ने कभी नहीं सुने और अब तक तारीफ़ करते हैं।"

इन्ही दिनों पंडित लेखराम जी ने "वैदिक विजय पत्र" से जिहाद विषयक लेखों को इकट्ठा कर के "रिसाला जिहाद" छपवाया था क्योंकि उस की समालोचना १४ मई, १८९२ के सद्धर्म-प्रचारक में निकली थी।

ऐसा मालूम होता है कि पंडित लेखराम जून के अन्तिम सप्ताह वा जूलाई के आरम्भ में फिर राजपूताने से लौट आए थे क्योंकि उन के लिखे हुए "कस्तूरी की प्राप्ति" विषयक दो लेख १६ जुलाई और २७ अगस्त के प्रचारक में दर्ज हुए हैं। पहला लेख भेजते समय पंडित लेखराम जी लाहौर में थे और दूसरा लेख उन्हों ने मुज़फ्फ़रगढ़ आर्य्य समाज से भेजा था । २३ जूलाई १८६२ के प्रचारक में बख़्शी सोहनलाल (वर्तमान आनरेबल तथा रायबहादुर) के मांस भक्षण समर्थक लेख का उत्तर भी आर्य्य पथिक का लाहौर से भेजा हुआ ही छपा है। फिर ३ और १० सितम्बर के प्रचारक में वृक्षों में जीव सम्बन्धी विचार पूर्ण दो लेख पंडित लेखराम के लहिय्या (ज़िला डेरा इस्माइलखां) से भेजे हुए छपे हैं। मालूम होता है कि डेराजात के ज़िलों में धर्म-प्रचार करने के पश्चात् पंडित लेखराम सीवी (बलोचिस्तान) में स्वामी नित्यानन्द सरस्वती जी सहित पंडित प्रीतम शर्मा पौराणिक के साथ शास्त्रार्थ करने के लिए गए थे क्योंकि उन का वहां २२ जुलाई १८६२ को पहुंचना प्रचारक में छपा है।

प्रीतमदेव ने तो शास्त्रार्थ से पीछा छुड़ाना चाहा किन्तु उसी शाम को उस से १०० गज़ की दूरी पर पंडित लेखराम का सिंहनाद सुनाई देने लग गया । पण्डित प्रीतम शर्मा ने तो स्वामी नित्यानन्द जी के सामने आकर शास्त्रार्थ को कटे के लिए मुलतवी किया और २४जुलाई को चल दिया; परन्तु प-

पण्डित लेखराम जी चार पांच दिनों तक स्वामी जी के साथ सीवी में ही व्याख्यान देते रहे। फिर कोटे से होते हुए ११ सितम्बर को क़सूर (ज़ि० लाहौर) आर्य्य समाज में जा कर एक व्याख्यान दिया। २८,२६ सितम्बर को हम पण्डित लेखराम को अमृतसर आर्य्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित पाते हैं। अक्टूबर मास के आरम्भ में पण्डित लेखराम जी जालन्धर पहुंचे। उन दिनों छावनी में जाटों का रिसाला नम्बर १४ था जिस का अधिक भाग आर्य्य समाजी था। पण्डित लेखराम जी का एक व्याख्यान सदर बाज़ार में हुआ, और फिर दो व्याख्यान चौदहवें रिसाले में हुए। वह दृश्य भूलने योग्य नहीं,क्योंकि मैंने भी आर्य्य पथिक के साथ २ वहीं व्याख्यान दिए थे। रिसाले का अपना बड़ा शामियाना लगा कर मण्डप खूब सजाया गया। छावनी के तीन चार-सौ श्रोताओं के मध्य चार पांच सौ सवार वर्दी पहिन कर अपने सर्दारों सहित उपस्थित रहते थे। अंग्रेज़ औफ़िसर भी दोनों दिन व्याख्यानों में आते रहे और व्याख्यान सुन कर बड़े प्रसन्न होते रहे।

जालन्धर से पंडित लेखराम पोठोहार (पञ्जाब प्रान्त) में प्रचार के लिए गए। १६ अक्टूबर को उन का व्याख्यान आर्य्य समाज भवन (ज़िला झेलम) में होना समाचार पत्र में छपा है।

इस के पश्चात् पता लगता है कि ऋषि दयानन्द के जन्म स्थान की तलाश में पंडित लेखराम फिर राजपूताने की

ओर चल दिए। बहुत से विश्वस्त पुरुषों से पता लगा था कि स्वामी जी का जन्म-स्थान मोरबीराज में है, इस लिए अजमेर से आर्य्य पथिक अहमदाबाद को चल दिए। मैं बतला चुका हूं कि बाबू रामविलास शारदा जी पर आर्य्य पथिक का बड़ा विश्वास था इस लिए काठियावाड़ से उन्हीं के नाम पत्र लिखते रहे। उस समय के लिखे हुए तीन पोस्टकार्ड मुझे मिले हैं। पहला ३० अक्टूबर, १८६२ को मोरवी से भेजा हुआ है। उस में बांकानीर के मार्ग से मोरबी पहुंचने का हाल लिख कर अपनी डाक महाशय काशीराम दुबे, एम. ए., हेडमास्टर मोरबी हाइस्कूल द्वारा मंगाई है और साथ ही याचना की है कि पण्ड्या मोहनलालादि से, स्वामी दयानन्द महारज के जन्म-स्थान के विषय में, पूछ कर जो कुछ पता लग सके जानने वालों से लिखवा भेजें।

दूसरा पोस्टकार्ड १५ नवम्बर को मोरवी की डाक में डाला गया। इस का अनुवाद यह है—"एक पत्र आप का, एक बनवारीलाल जी का, एक श्रीस्वामी आत्मानन्द जी महाराज का, एक मास्टर वज़ीरचन्द्र जी का पहुंच कर समाचार ज्ञात हुए। टिनकारा में मैंने (ऋषि-दयानन्द के जन्म-स्थान की) बहुत ढूंढ की, पता न मिला। लोग मोरबीख़ास का बहुत ख़याल करते हैं। अब वहां अन्वेषण कर रहा हूं। १४ वा १५ ग्रामों में ढूंढ चुका हूं।......मुझे १०,११, १२ (नवम्बर,१८६२) को ज्वर हुआ, बड़े ज़ोर से; परन्तु अब सर्वथा निरोग हूं।........

"पंड्या जी का कोई पत्र नहीं आया । वेद-भाष्य-भूमिका के विषय में मैंने एक पत्र श्यामसुन्दर जी को लिखा था, फिर आप भी (उन को) स्मरण करावें। जब से आया हूं कोई (अङ्क) सद्धर्म्मप्रचारक पत्र (का)नहीं आया। यदि हो सके तो चार (पिछले) अङ्क भेजदें.........इस ओर छूतछात का बड़ा झगड़ा और ज्वर का ज़ोर है; आर्य्य समाज से लोग सर्वथा अभिज्ञ हैं........................" तीसराकार्ड ६ दिसेम्बर को राजकोट से चला। इस में लिखा है—" मैं २ दिसम्बर, १८६२ से राजकोट में आया था। यहां आठ दिन रहा। यहां का हाल मालूम किया, परन्तु कोई हाल स्वामी जी की जन्म-भूमि के सम्बन्ध में न मिला। आज फिर बांकानेर जाता हूं और कई दिन वहां रहूंगा।...............बांकानेर प्रान्त के विषय में ही लोगों को सन्देह है कि शायद स्वामी जी उसी प्रान्त के हों। दूसरे मोरबी और बांकानेर (एक दूसरे से) बहुत समीप हैं।...........यहां पहले आर्य्य समाज था, परन्तु अब चिरकाल से दूर हुआ है; कोई भी आर्य्य पुरुष यहां नहीं है। लोगों से बात चीत होती रहती है; उपदेशकों की बहुत ज़रूरत है।"

पिछले दो कार्डों में एक और परिवर्तन देखा जाता है। जहां पहले पत्र और लिफ़ाफ़ा दोनों फ़ारसी अक्षरों में होते थे, वहां इन में लिफ़ाफ़ा देवनागरी अक्षरों में लिखा हुआ है, और कुछ काल के पश्चात् देखा जाता है कि संस्कृत या आर्य्य-भाषा जानने वालों के नाम आर्य्य पथिक के पत्र आर्य्य-

भाषा में ही जाने लग गए थे ।

इसी वर्ष " क्रिश्चियन मतदर्पण " मेरठ के विद्यादर्पण प्रेस में छप कर तय्यार हुआ जिस की समालोचना १२ नवम्बर, १८९२ के सद्धर्म्म-प्रचारक में छपी है ।

सं० १८९३ ई० के आरम्भ में ही पण्डित लेखराम ने स्वामी दयानन्द के जन्म-स्थान के अन्वेषण का काम समाप्त कर लिया था । यद्यपि इस समय टिनकारा के समीप ही जन्म-स्थान का नया निश्चय नए आन्दोलन कर तो रहे हैं, तथापि आर्य्य पथिक ने जो निश्चय करना था उसे दृढ़ कर लिया और अजमेर में लौट कर अन्तिम व्याख्यान दे कुछ और आन्दोलन करते हुए आगरे में पहुंचे । वहां २५ फरवरी से १ मार्च सं० १८९३ ई० तक स्थानीय आर्य्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव पर तथा मित्र सभा में उन के व्याख्यान होते रहे । आगरा आर्य्य समाज के उत्सव में धर्म्म-चर्चा के समय आर्य्य पथिक ने ऐसे सन्तोष—जनक उत्तर दिए कि प्रश्न कर्त्ताओं को भी मानना पड़ा कि उन की तसल्ली हो गई है ।

आगरा से मालूम होता है कि पंण्डित लेखराम जी फिर राजपूताने की ओर अपने पुरुषार्थ का फल प्राप्त करने अर्थात् ऋषि-जीवन के अन्वेषण का सारांश निश्चय कर ने के लिए चले गए क्योंकि २५,२६ मार्च, १८९३ को उन्हों ने जयपुर आर्य्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव पर दो बड़े ही जनप्रिय व्याख्यान दिए ।

इस समय पंजाब में घरू-युद्ध की अग्नि बड़े वेग से भड़क उठी थी और जिस आर्य्य प्रतिनिधि सभा और आर्य्य समाजों की संस्था के साथ पण्डित लेखराम आर्य्य पथिक आर्य समाजों में नाम लिखाने के दिन से काम करते आए, उस की अवस्था बड़ी डांवाडोल हो चली थी। यह निश्चय करना कि वास्तविक अपराध किस दल का था, और इस बात की मीमांसा करना कि द्वेषाग्नि का पहला पलीता किस ने छोड़ा, इस समय अनावश्यक है। इस विषय के पाप-पुण्य का ठीक गलों में मढ़ना उस समय होगा, जब किसी निर्पक्ष लेखनी से आर्य समाज का इतिहास लिखा जायगा, परन्तु यहां केवल इतना बतलाना है कि घरू युद्ध के कारण एक ओर तो सर्व साधारण आर्य-जनता का समूह और संस्था का बल था और दूसरी ओर यद्यपि जन संख्या बहुत कम थी तथापि धन बल, राज बल तथा नीति बल अधिक था। सम्मति भेद के सब कारणों में से उस समय भक्ष्या-भक्ष्य का प्रश्न बहुत कुछ आगे बढ़ा हुआ था। स्त्रियों को उच्च शिक्षा देने का भी यद्यपि विरोध होता था, वैदिक-साहित्य की शिक्षा की मात्रा पर भी यद्यपि मत भेद था तथापि मांस भक्षण वेद-विरुद्ध पाप है वा नहीं इस विषय पर बड़ा भारी युद्ध था।

ऐसी विपत्ति के समय में पण्डित लेखराम की पञ्जाब में बड़ी भारी आवश्यक्ता प्रतीत हुई। प्रबल सांसारिक नीति का मुक़ाबिला ढिलमुल विश्वासी केवल शान्ति का पठ करने वाले स्वार्थी कैसे कर सक्ते ? जिस प्रकार राजर्षि-गोविन्दसिंह महा-

राज अपने विश्वास-पात्र ख़ालसों के विषय में कह सक्ते थे कि—"सवा लाख से एक लड़ाऊं" और जिस प्रकार अकेले नैपोलियन की रण-भूमि में उपस्थिति एक लाख सेना के तुल्य समझी जाती थी उसी प्रकार मानो ब्रह्मर्षि-दयानन्द का आत्मा अदृश्यवाणी द्वारा आर्य जनता से कह रहा था कि आर्य्य समाज की परिधि में यदि सर्व प्रलोभनों से बच कर कोई धर्म की सेवा कर सक्ता है तो वह लेखराम है। धन, मान, प्रतिष्ठा, प्रशंसा के वशी-भूत हो कर कई प्रचारकों तथा प्रतिष्ठित पुरुषों को गिरते देख आर्य्य प्रतिनिधि सभा के सामयिक प्रधान ने आर्य्य पथिक पण्डित लेखराम को पंजाब में बुला लिया।

आर्य्य प्रतिनिधि सभा पंजाब के प्रधान का निवास-स्थान जालन्धर शहर था, इस लिए राजपूताने से पण्डित लेखराम सीधे जालन्धर नगर में पधारे। १८ अप्रैल को स्थानीय आर्य मन्दिर में ऋषि दयानन्द के जीवन पर व्याख्यान दिया और इस व्याख्यान में ही पहली वार बतलाया कि आर्य्य समाज के प्रवर्त्तक के गुरु स्वामी विरजानन्द सरस्वती का जन्म-स्थान करतारपुर (ज़िला जालन्धर) के समीप एक ग्राम में है। इसी समाचार को २१ अप्रैल, १८९३ के प्रचारक में जतला कर मैंने लिखा था—"सच-मुच एक महात्मा का स्वदेशी होना एक गौरव की बात है परन्तु जालन्धरियों को भली प्रकार याद रखना चाहिए कि यदि वे अपने आप को स्वामी विरजानन्द के स्वदेशी सिद्ध करना चाहते हैं तो उन को शम और दम की एक शिक्षा लेनी होगी।"

उसी समय आर्य्य पथिक पण्डित लेखराम ने, प्रसिद्ध योग-राज गूगल के बनाने वाले राय मूलराज बहादुर उप-प्रधान परोपकारिणी सभा से, सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश के उर्दू अनुवाद की आज्ञा मांगी थी किन्तु मांस भक्षण के विरोधी पण्डित लेखराम को ऐसी आज्ञा कैसे मिल सक्ती ! मुझे पण्डित लेखराम जी की, इस विषय में, अकृत-कार्यता पर बड़ा शोक है, क्योंकि यदि उक्त पण्डित जी सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश का अनुवाद उर्दू में कर जाते तो जो अशुद्धियां अब आर्य्य समाजियों को निरर्थक शास्त्रार्थों में फंसाती हैं उन से वह अनुवाद विमुक्त होता।

२८ अप्रैल १८६३, के प्रचारक से "आर्य समाज की ज़रूरत" पर एक लेख-माला आर्य्य पथिक की ओर से आरम्भ हुई है। इस लेख माला में ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से आर्य्यसमाज की आवश्यकता जतलाई गई है।

जालन्धर से लाहौर होते हुये पण्डित लेखराम झेलम आर्य्यसमाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित हुए और शङ्कासमाधान में भाग लेने के अतिरिक्त उन्हों ने वैदिक-धर्म की श्रेष्ठता पर एक सार-गर्भित व्याख्यान दिया। उस से पहले पण्डित लेखराम औरङ्गाबाद और मियानी काला में व्याख्यान दे चुके थे।

झेलम से छुट्टी लेकर पण्डित लेखराम अपने निवास स्थान कहूटा में पहुंचे। वहां एक मास तक पण्डित जी रहे परन्तु वहां से भी लेख बराबर समाचार पत्रों में [विशेषतः प्रचारक में] भेजते रहे। उसी स्थान में उन के पास दीवान टेकचन्द्र

[वर्तमान डिपुटी कमिश्नर] का पत्र इङ्गलेन्ड से आया था। उस पर जो नोट आर्य्य-मुसाफ़िर ने कहूटे से लिख कर भेजा था वह जतलाता है कि आर्योपदेशक का आदर्श वह क्या समझते थे। पण्डित लेखराम लिखते हैं—"विविध भाषाओं में सच्चे धर्म की पुस्तकों का अभाव, विविध भाषाओं द्वारा आर्य्य-धर्म के उपदेश करने वालों की कमी, देशान्तरों में आर्य्यसमाज का अस्तित्व अभाव के बराबर, धम पर जान न्योछावर करने वालों की आवश्यकता में प्रति-सैकड़ा एक सौ की कमी और उस पर घर की फूट—त्राहिमान! त्राहिमान! प्यारे भाइयो! विचारो और समझो। (अंग्रेज़) लोग सिविल सर्विस पास कर के जब देखते हैं कि धर्म के प्रचार की ज़रूरत है तो झट उस से अलग हो धर्म के उपदेशक बनने के लिए प्रार्थनाएं करते हैं, फिर ईश्वर जाने स्वीकार हो वा न। इधर हमारे यहां की हालत वर्णन करने योग्य नहीं है......... हमारे उपदेशकों में, थोड़े विद्वानों के अतिरिक्त, कई ऐसे भी हैं जो भोजन भट्टों की सूची में जाने योग्य हैं। क्षमा कीजिए, मैं वा अन्य कोई समाजों को भली प्रकार जानने वाला उन्हें उपदेशक नहीं मानता, क्योंकि वह तो ख़ाकियों में ख़ाकी, उदासियों में उदासी, निर्मलों में निर्मले और सन्यासियों में स्वामी........"

"आर्य्यसमाज की ज़रूरत" का शीर्षक दे कर जो लेख-माला पण्डित लेखराम ने इन दिनों सद्धर्मप्रचारक में छपवाई थी, उस में वह कहते हैं—"मई सं० १८८१ में जब लेखक (पं० लेखराम) ऋषि दयानन्द की सेवा में अजमेर उपस्थित

हुआ तब उन्हों [ऋषि दयानन्द] ने कहा था कि आर्य्यसमाजों की ओर से एक अंग्रेज़ी मासिक वा समाचार पत्र निकलना चाहिए, जिस में वेदों के मन्त्रों का अनुवाद देने के अतिरिक्त साव-जनक लाभ की बातें भी दर्ज हों।"

गृहस्थाश्रम में प्रवेश।

वैशाख सम्वत १६५० विक्रमी के आरम्भ में पण्डित लेखराम पूरे ३५ वर्ष के हो चुके थे। उसी वर्ष के ज्येष्ठ मास में छुट्टी लेकर अपने निवासस्थान ग्राम कहूटा में गए और अपनी आयु के ३६ वें वर्ष के आरम्भ में मरी-पर्वतान्तरगत भन्न ग्राम निवासिनी कुमारी लक्ष्मी देवी के साथ उनका विवाह संस्कार हुआ। ऋषि आज्ञा को शिरोधार्य समझते हुए पण्डित लेखराम ने विवाह तो किया परन्तु जहां तक उन से हो सका वसु* ब्रह्मचारी पद से ऊपर उठने का प्रयत्न करते रहे।

ऐसा ज्ञात होता है कि पौराणिक पूजादि तो कहां साधारण जातीय रिवाजों की ज़ंजीरों को भी पण्डित लेखराम ने इस विवाह पर तोड़ डाला था। हमारे चरित्र नायक के चचा श्री गण्डाराम जी लिखते हैं कि पण्डित लेखराम ने अपने विवाह पर पञ्जाब के रिवाजानुसार तम्बोल इत्यादि नहीं लिया था।

मुझे पण्डित लेखराम बतलाया करते थे कि विवाह होते ही उन्हों ने अपनी धर्मपत्नी को पढ़ाना आरम्भ कर दिया था। देवीलक्ष्मी की अपने पति में अनन्य भक्ति थी और इस लिये वह

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*-वसु वह कहलाता है जो २४ वर्ष की आयु के अन्त तक विवाह न करे।

उन्हें प्रसन्न करने का सदा प्रयत्न किया करतीं।

विवाह के पश्चात् पण्डित लेखराम कुछ दिनों और अपने ग्राम में रह कर अपनी धर्म-पत्नी को धार्मिक-शिक्षा देना चाहते थे परन्तु जब उस समय के धर्म-युद्ध में सहायता की आवश्यकता होने पर मैंने उन्हें बुलाया तो गृहस्थ के सर्व विचारों को शिथिल कर के वह तत्काल ही मेरे पास आ पहुंचे।

जोधपुर में मांस का झगड़ा
और
आर्य्य पथिक का आक्रमण।

लाहौर में जो मांस-भक्षण विषयक झगड़ा चला था उस को बहुत पुष्टि जोधपुर से मिली थी। जोधपुर राज के मुख्य प्रबन्धकर्त्ता तीन पीढ़ियों से अबतक महाराज मेजरजनरल-सर प्रतापसिंह चले आते हैं। महाराज प्रतापसिंह थे और अब तक हैं भी तो ऋषि दयानन्द और वैदिक-धर्म के दृढ़ भक्त, परन्तु उन के मन में यह बात बैठ गई है कि मांस-भक्षण के बिना राजपूत जाति की वीरता स्थिर नहीं रह सक्ती। लाहौर में आर्य्य समाज के दो दल हो जाने के पश्चात् स्वामी प्रकाशानन्द मांस-दल की ओर से जोधपुर पहुंचे। वहां उन्होंने यह लीला रची कि समाचार पत्रों के सम्पादकों तथा धर्मोपदेशकों से मांस-भक्षण के समर्थन में व्यवस्था दिलाई जावे। इसी लीला की पुष्टि में आर्य्य गज़ट, तथा भारत सुधार नामी मांस-भक्षण का समर्थन करने वाले समाचार पत्रों के सम्पादकों को पारितोषिक मिले। एक दो प्रसिद्ध आर्य्य पुरुषों ने भी महाराजा प्रतापसिंह की हां में हां मिलाकर "रूप्योऽसौ भगवान् स्वयम्" के साक्षात दर्शन किए। कुछ आर्य्य समाजी पण्डितों को भी भुर्सी दक्षिणा बांटी गई। तब सोचा गया कि कोई बड़ी चोट लगानी चाहिए। उस समय पण्डित भीमसेन ऋषि दयानन्द के निज शिष्य समझे जाते थे, और मेरठ के पण्डित गङ्गा प्रसाद एम. ए. स्वर्ग-वासी पण्डित गुरुदत्त के पीछे उन के सदृश

विद्वान् माने गए थे। इन दोनों महानुभावों को महाराजा साहेब की ओर से निमन्त्रण गया। पण्डित भीमसेन फिसलने वाले प्रसिद्ध थे इसी लिए उन को ठीक अवस्था में रखने के लिए वीर आर्य्य पथिक को भेजा गया।

पण्डित भीमसेन और पण्डित गङ्गाप्रसाद एम. ए. दोनों २ अगस्त, १८६३ ई० के प्रातः जोधपुर पहुंचे। पण्डित गङ्गाप्रसाद को बहुत से लालच दिए गए परन्तु उन्होंने स्पष्ट कह दिया कि धन वा प्रतिष्ठा का लालच उन्हें धर्म से च्युत नहीं कर सक्ता। ४ अगस्त को पण्डित भीमसेन जी की पहली भेंट महाराजा प्रतापसिंह से हुई। पण्डित भीमसेन ने यह तो कहा कि वेद में मांस-भक्षण का प्रत्यक्ष खन्डन है परन्तु यह मान कर कि हिंसक पशुओं का वध पाप नहीं, उन्होंने दबे दातों ऐसे पशुओं के मांस के भक्षण का विधान कर दिया।

५ अगस्त को प्रातःकाल ही पण्डित लेखराम जी जोधपुर में पहुंचे और सारा हाल सुना। वीर आर्य्य पथिक ने पण्डित भीमसेन की खूब ख़बर ली, क्योंकि स्वामी प्रकाशानन्द ने झूठा समाचार फैलाया था कि पण्डित भीमसेन मांस भक्षण का समर्थन कर आए हैं। बेचारा भीमसेय बहुत गिड़गिड़ाया परन्तु धर्म वीर विना ठीक प्रतिज्ञा कराए कब छोड़ते थे—"ईश्वर जानता है,अगर तूने महाराजा के पास स्पष्ट जाकर न कहा कि वेद में मांस-भक्षण का सर्वथा निषेध है तो तुझे किसी धार्मिक संस्था में पैर रखने के क़ाबिल नहीं छोड़ूंगा।" पण्डित भीमसेन दूसरे दिन ही विदा होने गए और बिना पूछे ही महाराजा

प्रतापसिंह से स्पष्ट शब्दों में कह दिया—"मांस-भक्षण पाप है। और वेदों में हानि-कारक पशुओं को दण्ड देने और अधिक हानि पहुंचायं तो मार डालने की भी आज्ञा है, परन्तु मांस उन का भी अभक्ष्य ही है। और मैंने जो यह कहा था कि उन के मांस खाने में अधिक दोष नहीं है, (सो) उस का यह आशा नहीं लिया जा सक्ता कि हानि कारक पशुओं का मांस खाना चाहिए, वा उस में कोई दोष नहीं है। मेरा तात्पर्य यह था कि ऐसे पशुओं के मारने में संसार की कुछ हानि नहीं है और उपकारी पशुओं के मांस खाने की अपेक्षा कम दोष है, परन्तु दोष अवश्य है। इस लिए हानि-कारक पशुओं का मांस भी नहीं खाना चाहिए, वह भी सर्वथा अभक्ष्य है" आर्य्य पथिक की धमकी ने इतना असर किया कि पण्डित भीमसेन के लिए जो १०००) भेंट का स्वीकार हुआ था वह आधा ही रह गया और पण्डित भीमसेन की आर्य्य पथिक पर इतनी श्रद्धा बढ़ गई कि उन्होंने जोधपुर से लौटते ही पण्डित लेखराम की "तारीख़-ए-दुनिया" का आर्य्य-भाषा में अनुवाद कर के "ऐतिहासिक निरीक्षण" नाम से मुद्रित कर दिया और शायद इस प्रकार जोधपुर के ५००) की कमी पूरी की।

जोधपुर में मांस प्रचारकों का भंडा फोड़ कर कुछ दिनों ऋषि जीवन सम्बन्धी मसाला वहीं एकत्र करते रहे, परन्तु विरोधी उन के आक्रमण से ऐसे तङ्ग आ गए थे कि उन्हें अधिक दिनों तक जोधपुर ठहरने में अपनी बड़ी हानि समझतेथे। जहां कहीं आर्य्य पथिक आन्दोलन करने जाते महाराजा प्रतापसिंह

का गुप्तचर साथ जाता। पहले हल्ले में जो कुछ घटनाएं लिखी गईं वह तो ठीक रहीं परन्तु उसके पश्चात् लोगों ने डरके मारे ऋषि जीवन सम्बन्धी घटनाएं ही बतलानी बन्द कर दीं। तब पण्डित लेखराम फिर पंजाब की ओर लौट आए।

जो पत्र जोधपुर से पण्डित लेखराम जी ने लिखे थे उन से ज्ञात होता है कि प्रकाशानन्दादि के घोर विरोध पर भी आर्य्य पथिक अपने काम पर डटे रहे और अन्त को सारा आन्दोलन कर के ही लौटे।

इन्हीं दिनों अमेरिका के चिकागो नगर की प्रदर्शिनी की तय्यारियां हो रही थीं और आर्य्य समाजों की ओर से कोई विशेष प्रतिनिधि भेजने का विचार छिड़ रहा था। जोधपुर में ही राव राजा तेजसिंह से आर्य्य पथिक को पता लगा कि भास्करानन्द (जो महाराजा प्रतापसिंह का भेजा हुआ उन दिनों अमेरिका में था) चाहता है कि आर्य्य समाज उसे अपना प्रतिनिधि चुनले। पण्डित लेखराम जानते थे कि वह धूर्त्त है अतएव उन्होंने आर्य्य जनता को सचेत कर दिया। दूसरी ओर साधु शुगनचन्द भी आशागतों में थे और अपनी वक्तृता के नमूने आर्य पब्लिक को दिखाते फिरते थे। पण्डित लेखराम ने स्वयम् तय्यार कर के एक अपील बाबू रामविलास जी को दी जो उन्होंने आर्य्य पब्लिक में मुद्रित कर दी। इस अपील में २०००) तो प्रचारक के मार्ग व्ययादि के लिए मांगा गया था और एक सुयोग्य अंग्रेज़ी के विद्वान् की सेवा मांगी थी। यह

दूसरी बात है कि कोई भी आर्य्य पुरुष जाने को तय्यार न हुआ परन्तु आर्य्य पथिक के धर्मानुराग में इस से कोई क्षति नहीं हुई। यदि स्वयम् अङ्गरेज़ी पढ़े होते तो अवश्य स्टीमर में बैठकर चिकागो चल देते।

पंजाब में संस्था की दृढ़ता
और
धर्म प्रचार का यौवन ।

जोधपुर से लौटकर पंजाब में स्थान स्थान से पण्डित लेखराम की मांग आने लगी । जहां कहीं भी विरोधियों की ओर से आर्य्य समाज पर आक्रमण होता, रक्षा के लिए आर्य पथिक को ही कष्ट देना पड़ता ।

पंजाब में लौटते ही पहला धावा पण्डित लेखराम का श्री गोविन्दपुर (ज़ि० गुरुदासपुर) पर हुआ । २३, २४ सितम्बर सं० १८९३ को बराबर वार्षिकोत्सव मनाया जाता रहा जिस में पण्डित लेखराम का सर्वोत्तम व्याख्यान हुआ । परन्तु आर्य पथिक के उच्च स्वभाव का इस से पता लगता है कि उत्सव का हाल प्रचारक में भेजते हुए जहां अन्य सब उपदेशकों के व्याख्यानों की बड़ी प्रशंसा की है वहां अपने व्याख्यान का साधारण वृत्तान्त कालम की २$\frac{1}{2}$ पंक्तियों में समाप्त कर दिया है । मुझे आर्य पथिक के पत्र व्यवहार से भी प्रमाण मिले हैं और मैं स्वयम् भी जानता हूं कि अन्य बहुत से उपदेशकों की शैली के विरुद्ध पण्डित लेखराम का सदैव यह प्रयत्न हुआ करता था कि आर्य समाज की वेदी से जो भी उपदेशक व्याख्यान देने खड़ा हो वह सर्व-साधारण में कृत-कार्य हो कर ही बैठे ।

श्री गोविन्दपुर से लौट कर ऋषि-जीवन का वृत्तान्त एकत्र करते हुए पण्डित लेखराम मेरे पास जालन्धर पहुंचे और मुझे पेशावर आर्य्य-समाज के उत्सव पर ले जाने के लिए आ-ग्रह किया। मुझे इनकार कब हो सक्ता था।

पेशावर की इस बार की यात्रा मुझे केवल इसी लिए स्म-रणीय नहीं है कि मैं पहले पहल अटक से पार चला था प्र-त्युत इस लिए भी कि पण्डित लेखराम के कई पक्के विचार मुझे इसी यात्रा में मालूम हुए। पण्डित लेखराम पलाण्डु (पियाज़) के बड़े पक्षपाती थे और समझते थे कि इस के सेवन से आर्य्य गृहस्थों को वञ्चित रखना अपनी जाति की शारीरिक अवस्था के साथ शत्रुता करना है। मुझ से पहले इस विषय पर बात चीत हुई। मेरे मनु का प्रमाण देने पर आपने कहा—"प्रथम तो पलाण्डु के अर्थ प्याज़ हैं ही नहीं; और यदि मान भी लो तो यह श्लोक ही प्रक्षिप्त है।"

फिर ब्रह्मावर्त की सीमा पर बात चीत छिड़ी। पण्डित लेखराम जी ने पौराणिकों की मानी हुई सरस्वती का खण्डन कर के बतलाया कि सरस्वती से तात्पर्य "ब्रह्मा पुत्रा" नदी का है जो भारत की पूर्वीय सीमा पर होती हुई समुद्र में जा मिलती है। आप ने कहा—"सरस्वती ब्रह्मा की पुत्री कही जाती है, पुत्र का स्त्रीलिङ्ग हुआ पुत्रा; पस "ब्रह्मा पुत्रा" और सरस्वती प-र्यायवाची शब्द हैं। सरस्वती कोई ऐसी नदी न थी जो मद्ध-भारत में कहीं छिप गई हो।" इस के पश्चात् आप ने दृषद्वती से "अटक" महा नदी का तात्पर्य लिया। यहां यह याद रखना

चाहिएकि यदि सरस्वती पौराणिक कल्पना के अनुसार मानी जावे और "दृषद्वती" से ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी समझें तो पण्डित जी का निवास-स्थान कहूटा ब्रह्मावर्त में सिद्ध नहीं होता। अब दूसरी प्रभात की घटना समझमें आ जायगी।

बात चीत करते २ हम दोनों सो गए। प्रातः उठकर मैंअपने विचार में निमग्न था कि रेल अटक के पुल के पास पहुंची और पंडित लेखराम ने मेरी बांह पकड़ कर कहा—"लाला जी! उठिए, उठिए! देखिए क्या इस से बढ़ कर कोई पत्थरों वाली नदी हो सक्ती है?" दृश्य बड़ा गम्भीर तथा उच्च था। मैं इस अपूर्व चित्तोत्कर्षक दृश्य की ओर टिक टिकीलगाएखड़ा था कि आर्य्य-पथिक के शब्दों ने झटका देकर जगा दिया— "लाला जी देखिए—यह पत्थरों वाली दृषद्वती नदी है, सरस्वती ब्रह्मापुत्रा है और इन दोनों देव नदों के मध्य का स्थान ब्रह्मावर्त है।" मैंने उत्तर में कहा—"पण्डित जी! मैंने आज मान लिया कि "कहूटा" ग्राम ब्रह्मावर्त्त का ही एक भाग है।" पण्डित जी के मुंह पर विशाल मुसकिराहट के चिन्ह दिखाई देने लगे और हंसते हुए बोले—"ईश्वर जानता है, आप मज़ाक़ में बात उड़ा देते हैं। मेरा मतलब तो इल्मी तहक़ीक़ात से था।"

व्याख्यानादि तो वार्षिकोत्सव में हुए ही परन्तु धर्म-चर्चा के समय बड़ा आनन्द आया। यह बात प्रसिद्ध थी कि पण्डित लेखराम वृक्षों में जीवात्मा की विद्यमानता नहीं मानते थे। एक मांस प्रचारक महाशय ने यह प्रश्न उठा कर कि वृक्षों में जीवा-

त्मा है वा नहीं उत्तर पंडित लेखराम से मांगा; तात्पर्य इस प्रश्न से यह था कि यदि वृक्षों में जीव विषय में मत भेद रखता हुआ एक पुरुष आर्य्य-समाजी रह सक्ता है तो मांस-भक्षण का प्रचार करने पर किसी को क्यों आर्य्य-समाज से अलग किया जावे। मैं यह कह कर, कि प्रश्न आर्य्य-समाज पर होना चाहिए न कि विशेष व्यक्ति पर, उत्तर के लिए उठा ही था कि पंडित लेखराम स्वयम् उत्तर देने के लिए खड़े हो गए और निम्न लिखित मनोरञ्जक प्रश्नोत्तर हुए—

प्रश्नकर्त्ता—"क्या आप वृक्षों में जीव मानते हैं?"

उत्तर—"क्या एक जीव? एक वृक्ष में एक क्या अनेक जीव पाए जाते हैं और ऐसा ही मैं भी मानता हूं।"

प्रश्न—"मैंने तो सुना था कि आप वृक्षों में जीव नहीं मानते।"

उत्तर—"तुम अजीब भोले आदमी हो। अब तो मैं तुम्हारे सामने हूं। सुनी सुनाई बात पर बुद्धिमान पुरुष विश्वास नहीं करते। कल्पना करो कि वृक्ष को जीव-धारी ही मानलें तो ऐसी अवस्था में यह मानना पड़ेगा कि वृक्ष में जीव शुषुप्तावस्था में है। तब तुम्हारा बकरे आदि का मांस खाना क्या वृक्ष के फल खाने के समान होगा? भोले भाई! पशु पक्षी का मांस बिना हिंसा के उपलब्ध नहीं होता, और वक्ष को तुम्हारे फल तोड़ लेने से कुछ कष्ट ही नहीं प्रतीत होता।"

श्रोतागण को पता लग गया कि प्रश्न कुटिल भाव से किया गया है और प्रश्न-कर्त्ता लज्जित हो कर बैठ गया।

पंडित लेखराम की हाज़िर जवाबी उन्हें बहुधा अनावश्यक वाद-विवाद से बचा दिया करती थी। एक बार रेल की यात्रा में एक उदासी साधु का साथ हुआ। बात चीत चलने पर उस ने स्वामी दयानन्द को साधु निन्दक सिद्ध करने के लिए कहा—"दयानन्द ने गुरु-नानक जी को दम्भी लिखा है और उन की निन्दा की है। यह सन्यासियों का काम नहीं।" पंडित लेखराम उदासी जी को बड़े प्रेम से समझाने लगे और कहा—"देखो बाबा नानक जी के आशय की तो स्वामी जी ने प्रशंसा ही की है। हां, वेदों की कहीं कहीं निन्दा उन से सहन न हुई और संस्कृत न जानते हुई भी उस में पग अड़ाते देख कर यह लिखा है कि दम्भ भी किया होगा ...." पंडित लेखराम ने बहुत कुछ समझाना चाहा परन्तु उस उदासी बाबा ने शोर मचा दिया और उन की एक न सुनी। मेरे शिर में कुछ पीड़ा थी इस लिए मैं स्टेशन आने पर दूसरे कमरे में चला गया। अगले स्टेशन के रास्ते में भी उदासी बाबा बहुत गरम रहे, किन्तु जब अगले स्टेशन पर रेल धीमी हुई तो अब उदासी जी दबे हुए से प्रतीतपड़े और पंडित लेखराम तेज़ सुनाई दिए। मैं भी फिर उसी कमरे में चला गया तो विचित्र दृश्य देखा। उदासी जी तो कुछ शान्ति की याचना कर रहे हैं और पंडित लेखराम उन को दबा रहे हैं। मालूम हुआ कि जब समझाने पर उदासी दबाए ही चला गया तो पंडित लेखराम ने कड़क कर कहा—

" अच्छा अगर बाबा नानक खुद कहदे कि मुझ में दम्भ है तौ ? " उदासी कुछ अश्चर्य्यित सा हो कर बोला " यह क्या ? " पंडित लेखराम ने सिक्खों के ग्रन्थ से एक वाक पढ़ा जिस मेंदो तीन साधारण निर्वलताओं के साथ दम्भी शब्द भी था। अब तो उदासी बाबा कुछ ढीले हुए और जब मैं पहुंचा तो कह रहे थे—"यह तो कसरनफ़सी है। इस का यह मतलब थोड़े ही है कि श्री गुरु-महाराज दम्भी थे।" हाज़िर जवाब लेखराम ने उत्तर में दस घृणित पापों के नाम ले ले कर कहा—"यह सब पाप अपने मैं क्यों न बतलए ? तुम बाबा नानक को मक्कार समझते हो; हम तो उन्हें ईश्वर के सच्चे भक्त समझते हैं। उन्हों ने मेरे कहे हुए दुराचारों का नाम इस लिए नहीं लिया कि उन में वह ऐब न थे। दो तीन कमज़ोरियां ही ग़रीब में थीं और उन से बचने की प्रार्थना अपने मालिक से की। तुम चाहे अपने गुरु को मक्कार समझो हम तो बाबा नानकदेव जी को सच्चा ईश्वर-भक्त समझते हैं। "

उदासी जी फिर कुछ गुनगुनाना चाहते थे परन्तु आर्य्य-पथिक ने यह कह कर बात चीत की समाप्ति कर दी—"बस साहब ! मैं तुम से बात करना भी पाप समझता हूं। तुम गुरु-निन्दक हो " और उदासी जी की वाणी पर ताला लग गया।

पेशावर के जलसे पर जाने से पहले पंडित लेखराम मांस-भक्षण के विषय पर एक प्रामाणिक ग्रन्थ लिख कर छपवा गए

थे जिस की समालोचना ६ कार्त्तिक सम्वत् १९५० के सद्धर्म-प्रचारक में निकली थी। इस लघु पुस्तक का नाम था "आर्य्य-समाज में शान्ति फैलाने का उपाय और रामचन्द्र जी का सच्चा दर्शन।" वेद-शास्त्र के प्रमाणों से मांस-भक्षण का स्पष्ट निषेध दिखलाते हुए स्वामी दयानन्द जी के मन्तव्य को उन के ग्रन्थों से स्पष्टतया दिखलाया और अन्तिम भाग में "रामचन्द्र का दर्शन" नामी काव्य के कवि की इस कल्पना का (जो वह जन-साधारण में मौखिक फैलाते थे) कि रामचन्द्र जी ने मांस खाया, "रामचन्द्र का सच्चा दर्शन" लिख कर प्रबल प्रमाणों तथा युक्तियों से खण्डन किया।

जिन सज्जनों को मांस का प्रचार अभीष्ट था और जो मांस-भक्षण से ही राष्ट्र में जीवन फूंकना सम्भव समझते थे वे प्रायः पंडित लेखराम को 'पेशावरीगुन्डा" की उपाधि देते थे। यह इस लिए नहीं कि पंडित लेखराम कुछ अधिक कटु बचन बोलते वा बहुत तीखा व्यक्ति-गत आक्रमण करते थे, प्रत्युत इस लिए कि जहां औरों के कटाक्ष "व्यक्ति-गत आक्रमण" कह कर टाले जा सक्ते थे वहां आर्य्य पथिक की युक्तियों का युक्ति युक्त उत्तर देना बड़ी टेढ़ी खीर थी। इसी लघु पुस्तक के प्रथम भाग में केवल प्रमाण दिए और उन का समर्थन युक्तियों से किया है। समाप्ति पर ग्रन्थ-कर्त्ता का केवल तीन पंक्तियों में निवेदन है—"पस सब वेद के मानने वालों को योग्य है कि यथार्थ सत्य-शास्त्र की रीत्यानुसार मद्य-मांसादि दुष्ट वस्तुओं का त्याग कर के सदा उस भोजन का भोग करें

जो रक्त युक्त न हो और जिस के लिए हमें निरापराधी पशुओं के गले पर छुरी न चलानी पड़े; यही ईश्वर की आज्ञा है।"

इस लेख को पढ़कर सर्व पाठकों को उन लोगों की बुद्धि पर आश्चर्य होगा जिन्होंने लेखराम को "पेशावरी गुण्डा" की उपाधि दी थी, परन्तु अन्याय का राज्य सदा के लिए नहीं रहता; समय आया जब उन्हीं उपाधि देने वालों ने लेखराम के पवित्र नाम से हिमालय की चोटियों तक को गुंजा दिया और सच्चे ब्राह्मण उपदेशक के चरणों में शिर निवा कर अपने किए पाप का प्रायश्चित्त किया।

पेशावर से लौटने के पश्चात् हम पं० लेखराम को २८, २९ अक्तूबर रावलपिन्डी में और ३१ अक्टूबर १८९३ के दिन लाहौर में, "वर्तमान दशा और हमारे कर्त्तव्य" पर व्याख्यान देता पाते हैं। फिर नवम्बर के आरम्भ में उन का व्याख्यान जालन्धर आर्य्य-समाज में हुआ। शायद इसी सन् के सितम्बर मास में पं० लेखराम अपनी धर्म-पत्नी को जालन्धर ले आए थे और इस लिए यही नगर उन का निवास-स्थान बन गया था।

जालन्धर में ही बैठकर जहां एक ओर पं० लेखराम ने ऋषि जीवन की तय्यारी का आरम्भ किया वहां उन्हीं दिनों अपनी सब से बड़ी पुस्तक "सबूत-ए-तनासुख़" नामी पुनर्जन्म को सिद्ध करने के लिए लिखकर पूर्ण करली और उस के छपाने का विज्ञापन भी सद्धर्म-प्रचारक में दे दिया। इस पुस्तक पर जो परिश्रम करना पड़ा होगा उस का अनुमान वे सज्जन ही

लगा सक्ते हैं जिन्होंने संसार भर के मतवादियों के आक्षेप इस सिद्धान्त पर पढ़े हैं। बाहर वालों को तो एक सदा भ्रमण करने वाले यात्री की लेखनी से ऐसा अपूर्व ग्रन्थ तय्यार होते देख कर विस्मयसा होता था परन्तु मुझ से व्यक्ति को जिस ने आर्य्य-पथिक को एक पल भी व्यर्थ गंवाते नहीं देखा था कुछ भी आश्चर्य नहीं हुआ।

इन दिनों आर्य्य-समाज में घरू युद्ध की ज्वाला बड़े वेग से प्रज्वलित हो रही थी। लाहौर में आर्य्य-समाज के दो टुकड़े हो चुके थे और आर्य्य-प्रतिनिधि सभा के वार्षिकाधिवेशन में भी शिक्षित दल की सभ्यता का चमत्कार दिखाई दे चुका था। परन्तु पंडित लेखराम उस समय भी वाह्य विरोधियों के आक्रमणों से ही आर्य्य समाज की रक्षा करने में लगे हुए थे। चारों ओर से महम्मदियों के आक्रमण रोकने के लिये आर्य्य-पथिक की मांग आती थी; इसी लिए २७ कार्त्तिक १६५० के प्रचारक में मैंने लिखा था—"ज्ञात हुआ है कि महाराजा कृष्ण प्रसाद जी पेशकार मन्त्री सेना विभाग (राज हैदराबाद दक्षिण) इसलाम की ओर झुके हुए हैं और आर्य्य-पथिक की मांग हो रही है। परन्तु कुराना-चार्य्य जहां एक ओर महर्षि के जीवन चरित्र की तय्यारी में सन्निद्ध है वहां दूसरी ओर शरीर को खेद भी है। लेकिन एक आदमी क्या कर सक्ता है......."

पंडित लेखराम को मैंने इन दिनों ऋषि जीवन वृत्तान्त की तय्यारी में निरन्तर लगा दिया था, परन्तु अपना नियत काम समाप्त करने पर उन्होंने जालन्धर के बाज़ारों में नित्य प्रचार करना आरम्भ कर दिया। परन्तु जालन्धर में भी आर्य-पथिक को

बैठने कौन देता था। इसी वर्ष (सं० १८९३ई०) के दिसम्बर में लाहौर नगर इन्डियन नैश्नल कांग्रेस का केन्द्र बन रहा था। राजनैतिकों के शिरोमणि दादा भाई नौरोजी प्रधान निर्वाचित हुए थे। दूर दूर से आर्य भाई भी आए थे। इस अवसर पर पंडित लेखराम को भी व्याख्यानों के लिये लाहौर बुलाना पड़ा। फिर लाहौर से लौटते ही समाचार आया कि शाहाबाद (ज़िला अम्बाला) के पास एक ग्राम में कुछ हिन्दू महम्मदी-मत ग्रहण करने वाले हैं। पंडित लेखराम की लात में एक फोड़ा था जिस से वह तङ्ग थे। मैंने तार सुनाया तो बिगड़ कर बोले—"आप लोग आदमी को मार डालते हो। भला ऐसे कष्ट में कैसे जा सक्ता हूं।" मैंने उत्तर दिया—"पंडित जी यह लोग बड़े निर्दई हैं। समझते नहीं कि हर समय मनुष्य का स्वास्थ एकसा नहीं रहता। आप इस विषय में कुछ न सोचें, मैं उत्तर दे दूंगा।"

पंडित लेखराम मेरे कार्य्यालय के सामने वाटिका की दूसरी सीमा वाले कमरे में काम किया करते थे; वहां चले गए। आध घन्टे के पश्चात् फिर मेरे पास आकर बैठ गए—"क्यों साहब! किस को भेजने का ख़याल है?" मैंने उत्तर दिया—"पंडित जी! यह लोग बड़े बेपरवा हैं। इन को स्वयम् भुगतना चाहिए, और क्या हो सक्ता है।" आर्य्य-पथिक कुछ रुक रुक कर बोले—"वे ग़रीब क्या करेंगे; कुछ तो इन्तज़ाम होना चाहिए" मैंने उत्तर में कहा—"कहिए तो पंडित लालमणि को भेज दूं।" पंडित लेखराम मुसकिरा कर बोले—"ईश्वर जानता है आप ने मुझे क़ायल कर दिया; रात की रेल में ही चला जाऊंगा।"

पंडित लेखराम जी धर्म सेवा के भाव का यह एक ही दृष्टान्त नहीं है। मैंने यह एक नमूना पेश किया है।

शाहाबाद के पास वाले ग्राम में मुसलमान होने वालों को बचाकर, इस्माईलाबाद में तीन व्याख्यान दिए जिन के प्रभाव से पीछे वहां आर्य्य-समाज स्थापित हो गया। फिर शाहाबाद, थानेसर, और करणाल में व्याख्यान देकर जालन्धर लौट आए। शाहाबाद में आर्य-समाज का स्थापन होना भी इसी बार के प्रचार का फल था। इस धावे पर जाते हुए मैंने आर्य-पथिक से प्रतिज्ञा की थी कि छुट्टी के दिनों में मैं भी उन की सहायता के लिए पहुंचूंगा, परन्तु उन्होंने शाहाबाद पहुंचते ही मुझे लिख दिया कि मेरी कुछ आवश्यकता नहीं। पंडित लेखराम किसी को भी अनावश्यक कष्ट नहीं देते थे और यह देख कर, कि मेरी अनुपस्थिति में आर्य-प्रतिनिधि सभा पञ्जाब का काम बिगड़ेगा, उन्होंने अकेले ही सब काम कर लिया।

ऊपर लिखित सब काम करते हुए भी पंडित लेखराम का अन्ध विश्वासों की पोल खोलने के लिए समय मिल जाता था। २० जनवरी के ताजुल अख़बार में एक समाचार निकला कि एक सय्यद जलाली की क़ब्र खुदवा कर टाउन हाल में मिलाने के कारण मुज़फ्फ़र नगर का एक तहसीलदार अन्धा हो गया और जाइन्ट मजिस्ट्रेट पागल हो गए। पंडित लेखराम ने समाचार पढ़ते ही अपने एक मित्र, मुज़फ्फ़र नगर के रईस, से असल हाल पूछा जिनके पत्र से यह समाचार सर्वथा झूठा

सिद्ध हुआ; और उस पत्र व्यवहार को पंडित लेखराम ने २२ माघ १९५० के सद्धर्मप्रचारक में छपवा दिया ।

फरवरी, १८९४में मन्ट-गुमरी आर्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव पर व्याख्यान देने के अतिरिक्त झङ्ग और कमालिया आदि स्थानों में प्रचार करते हुए लाहौर पहुंचे। इसी मास के प्रचारक में एक लेख माला आरम्भ हुई जिसे पंडित लेखराम के धर्म पर बलिदान होने के पश्चात् "तक़ज़ीब बुराहीन अहमदिया"के दूसरे भाग में सम्मिलित किया गया था। इस लेख माला में अकाट्य प्रमाणों से सिद्ध किया गया है कि "असकन्दरिया" (मिश्र प्रान्त) का प्रसिद्ध पुस्तकालय महम्मदी पक्षपात की ही भेंट चढ़ा था।

ऋषि जीवन की तय्यारी के साथ साथ मौखिक-धर्म-प्रचार का कार्य भी बराबर जारी रहने का प्रमाण समाचार पत्रों के अवलोकन से मिलता है। १४ मार्च से २२ मार्च तक श्री गोविन्दपुर तथा आस पास के ग्रामों में धर्म-प्रचार की धूम रही, शङ्का-समाधान ख़ूब होता रहा। वहां से लौट कर कुरुक्षेत्र की भूमी में प्रचार के लिए पंडित लेखराम मेरे साथ चल दिए।

जिस प्रकार चन्द्रग्रहण पर काशी में गङ्गास्नान का माहात्म है उसी प्रकार सूर्य-ग्रहण को कुरुक्षेत्र के तालाब में डुबकी लगाने से, पौराणिक मतावलम्बी, स्वर्ग प्राप्ति की कल्पना करते हैं। ६ अप्रैल, १८९४ को सूर्यग्रहण होने वाला था और इस लिए २९ मार्च को ही सरकारी हस्पताल के पास सड़क के

किनारे पर स्थान साफ़ कर के आर्य्य-समाज का प्रचार-मण्डप खड़ा कर दिया गया और अप्रैल के आरम्भ से ही वैदिक-धर्म के प्रचार का काम शुरू कर दिया गया। इस प्रचार में शंका-समाधान का काम प्रायः पंडित लेखराम जी ही करते रहे। "धर्म की असलियत और उस का आन्दोलन" विषय पर जो व्याख्यान इस स्थान पर पंडित लेखराम ने दिया वह बड़ा ही चित्ताकर्षक था। दूसरे व्याख्यान में आप ने यह जतलाया कि आर्य्य-समाज ऋषियों की निन्दा नहीं करता बल्कि उन के सिद्धान्तों को फैलाता है। ६ अप्रैल को मेरे साथ पंडित लेखराम कर्णाल चले आए जहां ७, ८ और ६ अप्रैल को आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में दो व्याख्यान देने के अतिरिक्त शंका-समाधान भी ख़ूब किया। वार्षिकोत्सव के पश्चात् मैं तो चला आया परन्तु आर्य-मुसाफ़िर एक मास तक कर्णाल में ही रहे क्योंकि जिस टाङ्ग के फोड़े के कारण मैं उन्हें शाहाबाद नहीं भेजना चाहता था वह फोड़ा इतस्ततः भ्रमण करते फिरने के कारण बहुत ख़राब हो गया था। इसी फोड़े के सम्बन्ध में एक मनो-रञ्जक बात मुझे याद आई है। पंडित जी ने कुछ सभासदों से पूछा—"किसी आर्य्य-डाक्टर के पास मुझे ले चलो तो फोड़ा दिखलाऊंगा।" एक अधिकारी ने किसी मुसलमान डाक्टर का नाम ले कर कहा कि उसे बुला कर दिखाएंगे। पंडित जी ने फिर पूछा कि क्या कोई आर्य्य डाक्टर नहीं है। लाला कर्त्ताराम ने कहा—"डाक्टर तो कोई आर्य्य-समाज का सभासद् नहीं। इलाज में आर्य्य अनार्य्य-पना क्या घुसा है।" आर्य्य-पथिक की आंखें लाल हो गईं

और बोले—" ख़ाक आर्य्य-समाज है ! एक डाक्टर को भी आर्य्य नहीं बना सक्के । " मैंने हंस कर कहा कि जिस समाज का कोई डाक्टर सभासद न हो तो क्या उसे आर्य्य-समाज ही न समझा जाय । आर्य्य-पथिक ने कुछ गम्भीर हो कर उत्तर दिया—"जिस आर्य्य-समाज ने डाक्टरों, स्कूल के अध्यापकों और विद्यार्थियों को आर्य नहीं बनाया उस ने क्या ख़ाक काम किया । जड़ को सींचने से ही वृक्ष हरा होता है।" इस उत्तर ने मेरा अन्तःकरण तक लेखराम के पैरों में झुका दिया था ।

इस एक मास के करणाल निवास के समय की कुछ घटनाएं लाला कर्त्ताराम जी ने लिखी हैं जिन का संक्षिप्त वृत्तान्त यहां देना शिक्षाप्रद होगा—"एक दिन एक पादरी साहेब पं० जी को मिलने के लिए आर्य मन्दिर में आए। मेरे सामने उन्होंने वैदिक-धर्म के विषय में कुछ प्रश्न किए जिनका उत्तर पंडित लेखराम जी ने बड़े नम्र,मधुर शब्दों में दिया । इस के पश्चात् पं० जी ने क्रिश्चियन मत के विषय में कुछ बातें पूछीं जो पादरी साहेब के बतलाने पर नोट करलीं । पादरी साहेब ने विदा होते समय पं० जी की योग्यता और शिष्टाचार की बहुत प्रशंसा की ।

"इन्हीं दिनों करणाल पोस्ट आफ़िस के महाशय गोपाल सहाय जी के पुत्र उत्पन्न हुआ । ज्योतिषी ने व्यवस्था दी कि लड़का माता, पिता, भाइयों को मार कर रहेगा । माता,

पिता ने उस के लिए दूसरे माता पिता ढूंढ़ने चाहे परन्तु ऐसी उत्तम ख्याति वाले बालक को अङ्गीकार कौन करता। पंडित लेखराम को जब पता लगा तो उन्हों ने समझा कर महाशय गोपाल सहाय को ऐसी अनुचित कार्य-वाही से रोका। परिणाम यह हुआ कि न केवल सारा परिवार ही जीवित है प्रत्युत उस बालक के दो भाई और हो चुके हैं और पिता की वेतन वृद्धी होती रही।

"पंडित जी सन्ध्या बन्धन में बड़े पक्के थे। नित्य शारीरिक व्यायाम भी करते थे। निकम्मे, ख़राब पके हुए भोजन से उन्हें घृणा थी। भोजन छादन में सावधान रहते। एक बार मैंने कहा—"महाराज! आप को भोजन विषय में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहिए। यह आप की शान के बरख़िलाफ़ है।" बड़ी सख़्ती से जवाब दिया—"हम लोग जो दिन रात बाहर घूमते और दिमाग़ी काम करते हैं अगर भोजन छादन में बेपरवाई करें तो काम कैसे होगा। जो उपदेशक इस विषय में सचेत न रहेंगे वे या तो शीघ्र मर जायंगे वा काम से थक कर बैठ जायंगे।

"प्रातःकाल ब्राह्ममुहूर्त में उठते थे। शौच के लिए बाहर जङ्गल में जाते थे। समय व्यर्थ नहीं खोते थे। कभी ख़ाली बैठे नहीं देखे गए। रात के ठीक दस बजे सो जाते थे। चार पांच घन्टे बराबर उपदेश देना उन के लिए साधारण बात थी। ऐसा निडर, धर्मात्मा, सदाचारी उपदेशक मैंने और नहीं देखा।" करनाल से शायद मई १८९४ के मध्य भाग में

आर्य्य-पथिक लौट आए और फिर जालन्धर में बैठ कर ऋषि-जीवन सम्बन्धी काम करते रहे। इस अन्तर में उन्हों ने स्थानीय प्रचार बन्द नहीं किया और आस पास भी धर्म-प्रचार के लिए जाते रहे। ५ जुलाई को उन का व्याख्यान जालन्धर आर्य्य-मन्दिर में होना छपा हुआ है।

६ जुलाई १८६४ को पंडित लेखराम जी मेरे साथ कोटा आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित होने के लिए चले। रास्ते में मुलतान में एक व्याख्यान दे कर कोटे पहुंचे। वार्षिकोत्सव से पहले "पुनर्जन्म" विषय पर उन का बड़ा सार-गर्भित और आन्दोलन पूर्ण व्याख्यान हुआ था। मैं तो वार्षिकोत्सव के पश्चात् १०००) से अधिक धन वेद-प्रचार निधि के लिए लेकर लौट आया परन्तु पंडित लेखराम जी कोटे में ही रह गए। वहां उन के १३ व्याख्यान हुए। वहां से हिरक, दोज़ान, मच्छ, बोस्तान, खोस्ट, शाहरिग में, कहीं दो कहीं तीन, व्याख्यान देते हुए सीबी में पहुंचे। १ अगस्त को यहां बड़ा प्रबल व्याख्यान हुआ और २ अगस्त को फिर सीबी निवासियों को सच्चे धर्म का सन्देश सुनाया गया। ५ अगस्त को पांच छः सौ की जन उपस्थिति में "दीन महम्मद" और "महम्मद मुस्तफ़ा" को शुद्ध कर के फिर से वैदिक-धर्म में प्रविष्ट कराया गया। ८ अगस्त को सक्खर में पहला व्याख्यान हुआ, और फिर तीन

व्याख्यान दे कर आर्य्य-पथिक ने सं० १८६४

ई० के आरम्भ में ही, जब कि उन को ऋषि दया-नन्द के जीवन चरित्र को शीघ्र छपवा डालने की आशा बंध गई थी, भारतवर्ष का सविस्तर इतिहास निकालने से पहले एक मासिक पत्र निकालने का विचार किया था। उस का नाम करण संस्कार "विद्या वर्तक" किया था और उद्देश्य यह था कि उस के द्वारा वैदिक-धर्म के प्रचार तथा आर्य्य जाति की सेवा के सब काम किए जावें। अगस्त १८९४में पहले अङ्क की विषय सूची इस प्रकार तय्यार की थी—

(१) कितने आर्य्य-समाज स्थापित हुए, (२) कितने मुसलमान वा ईसाई शुद्ध हुए, (३) कितनी विधवाओं के विवाह हुए, (४) विद्या सम्बन्धी लेख, (५) नए विद्या सम्बन्धी निरूपण, (६) वेद सम्बन्धी शंकाओं का समाधान, (७) ऋषियों के जीवन चरित्र।

पंडित लेखराम की इस शुभ इच्छा की पूर्ति के लिए आर्य्य प्रतिनिधि सभा पंजाब ने उनकी मृत्यु के डेढ़ वर्ष पश्चात् "आर्य्य मुसाफ़िर" नामक मासिक पत्र प्रकाशित करना आरम्भ किया था जो अब तक गिरता पड़ता चल रहा है। यदि इस पत्र को समयानुसार उर्दू भाषा में तत्वान्वेषण का साधन बनाया जावे तभी आर्य्य-समाज को एक जागृत शक्ति कहा जा सकेगा।

सितम्बर, १८९४ का एक और नोट मुझे मिला है जिस से पंडित लेखराम के हृदय के भाव विस्पष्टता से प्रतीत होते हैं—

"समग्र भारत-वर्ष को आर्य-धर्म में लाने के निम्न साधन हैं। यदि इन में हम, ईश्वर की कृपा से, कृत-कार्य हों तो अवश्य सब लोग सद्धर्म में आजावें:—

प्रथम—विधवा विवाह वा और कोई साधन जिस से भविष्य में स्त्रियां मुसलमानी वा ईसाई न हों।

द्वितीय—शुद्धी फ़न्ड जिस से सब मतों के अनुयायी वैदिक-धर्म में आ सकें।

तृतीय—वेद प्रचार निधि स्थापित करना अर्थात् उपदेशक तय्यार करना।

चतुर्थ—बचपन का विवाह रोकना।"

पञ्चम—पुस्तक प्रचार प्रत्येक भाषा में और साईंस की वह बातें जो वेद-धर्म के विरुद्ध हों, उन पर विचार करना।

षष्ठ—साधु कम हों और उपदेशक बनकर वर्तमान साधु धर्म का कार्य करें।

सप्तम—दान की व्यवस्था ठीक करना।"

सितम्बर १८९४ के मध्य में हम पण्डित लेखराम को श्री गोविन्दपुर अर्य्य समज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित पाते हैं; और इन्हीं दिनों प्रचारक में "दरियाई मज़हब" पर आर्य्य-पथिक का एक विस्तृत नोट देखते हैं।

ऐसा मालूम होता है कि श्री गोविन्दपुर से निवृत्त हो कर पण्डित लेखराम कुछ दिनों जालन्धर में जीवन-चरित्र का काम करते रहे और फिर २६ और ३० अक्टूबर १८६४ को गुरुदास पुर आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित हुए। दोनों दिन "पुनर्जन्म" और "साचाई का मज़बूत चट्टान" विषयों पर ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से बड़े गम्भीर और जन-प्रिय व्याख्यान देकर महम्मदी प्रश्न-कर्त्ताओं की शङ्काओं का भी समाधान किया। गुरूदासपुर से लौट कर ही, अपनी धर्म-पत्नी को घर पहुंचा, पण्डित लेखराम कोहाट पहुंचे जहां उन्हों ने ५नवम्बर से ११नवम्बर, सं० १८६४तक बराबर ६ व्याख्यान दिए। इन्हीं दिनों एक आर्य्य भाई के यहां मौत होजाने पर आर्य्य-पथिक ने मृतकसंस्कार वैदिक रीत्यानुसार कराया।

कोहाट में पण्डित लेखराम के व्याख्यानों की वैसी ही धूम मच गई जैसी अन्य स्थानों में सुनने में आती थी। यहां बन्नू आर्य्य-समाज की ओर से तारों पर तारें आती रहीं क्योंकि एक मास से बन्नू निवासी आर्य्य-पथिक के व्याख्यानों के प्यासे बैठे थे। अन्त को १२ नवम्बर के दिन कोहाट से तार-समाचार पहुंचा कि पण्डित लेखराम जी टाङ्गा में बन्नू को चल दिए हैं। आर्य्य भाई नगर निवासियों समेत टाङ्गा के स्थान में पहुंच गए और हमारे चरित्र नायक का स्वागत कर भजन कीर्तन करते हुए उन्हें नौ बजे रात के आर्य्य-मन्दिर में पहुंचाया।

दूसरे दिन से ही व्याख्यानों का सिलसिला शुरू हो गया।

ईश्वर की हस्ती, मुक्ति-पथ, धर्म्म, सचाई का चट्टान और आर्य्य-जीवन (विषयों) पर बड़े सार-गर्भित तथा दिलों को हिलाने वाले व्याख्यान हुए। एक दिन प्रश्नोत्तर के लिए रक्खा गया जिस में किसी अन्य मतावलम्बी ने तो कोई प्रश्न न किया, किन्तु सनातन-धर्म्म-सभा के मन्त्री का पत्र आदित्यवार को शास्त्रार्थ के लिए नियत करने के निमित्त आया। तदानुसार आदित्यवार को बड़ी जन उपस्थिति में सनातन-सभा के मन्त्री तथा एक अन्य पण्डित का "क़ाफ़ियातङ्ग" कर दिया। इन्हीं दिनों में से १६ जनवरी का दिन अपने अन्वेषण के अनुराग की तृप्ति के लिए नियत किया और ग्राम कक्किभरत् केखन्ड-रात को जा कर देखा। लोगों में प्रसिद्ध है कि भरत की नन्ह-साल अर्थात् महाराजा कैकेय की राजधानी इसी स्थान में थी। एक पुराना सिक्का देख कर पीछे से उस को २२) रुपयों तक ख़रीदने की भी आज्ञा मन्त्री आर्य्य-समाज को भेजी, किन्तु जिस मनुष्य के पास वह सिक्का था, वह उस समय मर चुका था।

२० नवम्बर को पण्डित लेखराम का अन्तिम व्याख्यान था। विषय "आर्य्य-जीवन" था। इस व्याख्यान में आर्य्य-जीवन का चित्र खींचते हुए मर्य्यादा पुरुषोत्तम रामचन्द्र, हक़ीक़तराय, पूर्ण भक्तादि के दृष्टान्तों को श्रोतागण के आगे ऐसी योग्यता से रक्खा कि मृत प्राणियों में भी जीवन पड़ गया और पत्थर दिलों को भी मोम बना आठ आठ आंसू रुलाया।

२१ नवम्बर को बन्नू से चल कर डेराइस्माइलखां के रास्ते लाहौर आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित होने के लिए प्रस्थान किया। मालूम होता है कि २२ नवम्बर की रात को दरियाखां रेलवेस्टेशन से लाला मूसा के लिए चल दिए जहां २३ नवम्बर के प्रातःकाल पहुंच गए। लाला मूसा में कुछ देर तक ठहरना पड़ता है क्योंकि रावलपिण्डी से डाक यहां १२ बजे के पश्चात् पहुंचती है।

पण्डित लेखराम अपना समय व्यर्थ गंवाने वाले न थे इस लिए स्टेशन के किसी बाबू से समाचार-पत्र मांगे। जो पत्र बाबू ने दिए उन्हीं में ७ नवम्बर का मित्र-विलास मिल गया। उसी समय डायरी में नोट कर लिया—"१० अक्टूबर के मेसेन्जर में लिखा है कि परोपकारिणी-सभा सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश में से वह लेख जो बाबा नानक के बाबत है निकाल देवें। देखना है कि समाज इस को क्या समझती है" (मित्रविलास)—

उत्तर—परोपकारिणी-सभा इस को नहीं निकाल सक्ती। समाज इस को स्वामी जी की तहरीर (लेख) समझता है और जब तक उस की ग़लती मालूम न हो बिल्कुल सही समझता है। और ग़लती मालूम हो जाने पर आर्य्य-समाज नियम ४ के अनुसार ग़लती क़बूल (भूल स्वीकार) करने को तय्यार है। लेखराम आर्य्य-मुसाफ़िर बक़लमखुद—मुफ़स्सिल जवाब दिया जायगा। २३ नवम्बर, १८९४, रेलवेस्टेशन लालामूसा।"

धुन यह लगी रहती थी कि आर्य्य-समाज पर कोई आक्षेप ऐसा न रहे जिस का उचित उत्तर न दिया जाय। इन्हीं दिनों दक्षिण-हैदराबाद में निज़ाम की पुलिस ने पंडित गोकलप्रसाद पौराणिक के मुक़ाबिले में व्याख्यान देने वाले पंडित वालकृष्ण शास्त्री आर्य्योपदेशक तथा ब्रह्मचारी नित्यानन्द जी को राज से वाहिर कर दिया था। उस का हाल मित्रविलास में पढ़ कर नोट कर लिया कि उस के विषय में आन्दोलन कर के आर्य्य-समाज की रक्षा के लिए लेख लिखेंगे।

२३ नवम्बर की डाक में लाहौर पहुंच कर पंडित लेख-राम जी ने नगर कीर्तन की शोभा अवलोकन की और २४ नवम्बर को आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में, मद्ध्यानोत्तर के समय, पौराणिक सभा की ओर से पंडित गोपीनाथ, गोपाल शास्त्री और एक साधु को लेकर आए थे। पौराणिकों की वक्तृताओं का ज़िक्र कर के सद्धर्म्म-प्रचारक में लिखा है—"किन्तु जब आर्य्य-मुनि जी ने दोनों (सनातनी) बोलने वालों का परस्पर विरोध, अपनी प्रवल युक्तियों से, दिखलाया और आर्य्य-पथिक ने वेद प्रमाणों से सनातनियों के प्रमाणों और युक्तियों को खण्ड खण्ड कर दिया तो फिर जो प्रभाव श्रोता-गण पर पड़ा उस का अनुमान वही लोग कर सक्ते हैं जिन्हों ने इन दोनों उपदेशकों के प्रसिद्ध शास्त्रार्थ देखे हैं।"

२५ नवम्बर को अन्तिम व्याख्यान पंडित लेखराम का था। समय केवल एक घन्टा दिया गया था परन्तु जब आर्य्य-

पथिक आर्य्य-समाज के नियमों की व्याख्या करने लगे तो फिर श्रोता-गण भला कब हिलने का नाम लेते। अढ़ाई घन्टे तक बराबर श्रोता-गण लिखित चित्रवत् बैठे रहे। यदि वक्ता एक घंटा और बोलते तब भी श्रोता-गण बैठे रहने को तय्यार थे।

लाहौर से आर्य्य-पथिक अपने जन्म दाता आर्य्य-समाज पेशावर में गए और ३ से ५ दिसम्बर, १८६४ तक बराबर व्याख्यान दिए। ६ दिसम्बर को रावलपिंडी उतरे परन्तु व्याख्यान का प्रबन्ध न होने के कारण अपने निवास-स्थान कहूटा को चले गए। इस बार अपने ग्राम में लाभचन्द्र भजनीक को भी साथ ले गए और दो दिनों तक वैदिक-धर्म का खूब प्रचार हुआ। वहां से रास्ते में गूजर खां, चकवालादि स्थानों में वैदिक-धर्म का डंका बजाते हुए २५ दिसम्बर, सं० १८६४ को जालन्धर आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में आकर सम्मिलित हुए।

पंडित लेखराम चकवाल में थे जब ईसाई अख़बार "नूर-अफ़शां" में किसी का छपवाया हुआ लेख देखा जिस में लिखा था कि पण्डित लेखराम ने एक बार गुजरात में ईसा के विचित्र जन्म का पता वेदों से दिया था। आर्य्य-पथिक ने वहीं से उस लेख का खन्डन सद्धर्म्म-प्रचारक के लिए भेजा, जो १५ पौष १६५१ के अङ्क में छपा था।

जालन्धर आर्य्य-समाज के इस वार्षिकोत्सव में पण्डित लेखराम का पहला व्याख्यान स्मरणीय है। विषय "धर्म प-

रीक्षा की कसौटी" था जिसे आर्य्य-पथिक ने ऐसा प्रभावशाली बनाया कि सद्धर्म प्रचारक के संवाददाता के शब्दों में—"एक साधू, जो आगरे के राय शालिग्राम का चेला हो चुका था, और राधा स्वामी के जाप में निगग्न था, व्याकुल हुआ। पण्डित (लेखराम) जी से फिर मिला और अन्त को वैदिक धर्म की शरण में आकर उस ने राय शालिग्राम को पोस्टकार्ड भेज दिया कि पण्डित लेखराम का व्याख्यान सुनकर उसे राधा स्वामी मत पर बिश्वास नहीं रहा।"

ऋषि जीवन की छपवाई

और

लाहौर को स्थिति।

स्वामी दयानन्द के जीवन चरित्र की पूर्ति के लिए आव-श्यक यह था कि पण्डित लेखराम बाहर के आन्दोलन के प-श्चात् किसी विशेष स्थान में बैठकर काम करें, परन्तु एक और पण्डित लेखराम का अपना धार्मिक उत्साह और दूसरी ओर आर्य्य जनता की आवश्यकताएं उन को एक स्थान में बैठने न देती थीं। आर्य्य-प्रतिनिधि-सभा ने कई बार विशेष नियम बना बना कर पंडित लेखराम को दिए, परन्तु आर्य्य-पथिक के धार्मिक जोश को ठन्डा करने के लिए कोई भी नियम पर्याप्त न थे। जीवन चरित्र का काम करते हुए उनको बुलाने के लिए यह लिख देना काफ़ी था कि एक आर्य्य-जातिस्थ पुरुष मुसलमान होने वाला है वा किसी महम्मदी प्रचारक के साथ शास्त्रार्थ की संभा-वना है; और फिर यदि सभा की ओर से आक्षेप होता तो पंडित लेखराम का यह उत्तर, कि शास्त्रार्थ के दिनों का वेतन काट लो, सभा के अधिकारियों को चुप कराने का अपूर्व सा-धन था। मेरे पास पण्डित लेखराम को इसी लिए रक्खा गया था कि जमा किए वृत्तान्त को किसी क्रम से ठीक कर के छप-वाने का प्रबन्ध करूं। परन्तु यह इकट्ठा किया हुआ मसाला समझ में नहीं आ सक्ता था जब तक पंडित लेखराम ही उसे नोटों से साहित्य का रूप न देते, और मैं आर्य्य-पथिक को प्रचार के लिए भेजने पर मजबूर था। जब मैंने सभा में रिपोर्ट

करदी कि पड़ताल का कार्य किसी अन्य सज्जन के सुपुर्द हो, तो सर्व पत्रादि राय ठाकुरदत्त जी के पास भेजे गए। परन्तु जब राय साहेब ने भी इन पत्रों को अभी अपूर्ण बतलाया तो फिर यह निश्चय हुआ कि लाहौर में स्थित हो कर पण्डित लेखराम ही ऋषि का जीवन वृत्तान्त ठीक कर के छपवाना आरम्भ करदें।

उपरोक्त निश्चय के अनुसार पं० लेखराम जी ने लाला जीवनदास पेन्शनर के मकान में रहने का प्रबन्ध किया और अपनी धर्म-पत्नी को लाहौर लाने के लिए जनवरी, १८९५ के मध्य भाग में घर की ओर चल दिए। मार्ग में गुजरात के आर्यों के निवेदन पर ठहर कर एक भूले भाई को वैदिक-धर्म की सचाइयों का उपदेश करके मुसलमान होने से बचाया। १८ जनवरी को लाला मूसा में व्याख्यान देकर १९ जनवरी को गुजरात में "सद्धर्म की प्राप्ति" विषय पर एक व्याख्यान दिया और फिर घर जाकर अपनी धर्म-पत्नी जी को साथ ले सीधे लाहौर में स्थित हुए।

इन्हीं दिनों पण्डित लेखराम जी की प्रेरणा पर जो मैंने वेद भाष्य की रक्षा विषयक लेख प्रचारक में लिखे थे, उन का परिणाम निकल आया। यह पण्डित लेखराम ने ही पता लगाया था कि ऋषि दयानन्द के वेद-भाष्य का आर्य्य-भाषा में अनुवाद करते हुए ब्राह्मण कुलोत्पन्न पण्डित अपने सिद्धान्त बीच में घुसेड़ कर भाष्य को सन्दिग्ध बना रहे हैं। परोपकारिणी सभा ने यह निश्चय मुद्रित कराया कि "महर्षि दयानन्द कृत

पुस्तकों के शोधने के लिए पण्डित लेखराम जी को लिखा जावे कि वह अशुद्धियां छांट कर वैदिक-यन्त्रालय के अधिष्ठाता के पास लिख भेजें।"

लाहौर में स्थित होकर पण्डित लेखराम ने जीवन चरित्र का लेख कातिब (लेखक) के हाथ में देना शुरू तो कर दिया परन्तु फिर भी एक ओर लगकर काम करना उन्हें वहां भी न मिला। ९ फरवरी १८९५ के दिन हम उन्हें अपने देश की आवश्यकता पर मन्टगुमरी में व्याख्यान देते पाते हैं और फिर १० फरवरी को गुजरांवाला में "हमारी मौजूदा तहक़ीक़ात" पर प्रकाश डालते देखते हैं। कारण वही मांस-भक्षण का झगड़ा था। जहां कहीं कालिज दल के आदमी समाज को अपनी ओर खींचने जाते वहीं पण्डित लेखराम को भेजना पड़ता।

परन्तु केवल सभा के अधिकारी ही ऋषि जीवन की तय्यारी में बाधा डालने वाले नहीं समझे जा सक्ते; स्वयम् पण्डित लेखराम का भी इसमें बड़ा भारी हाथ होता था। मन्टगुमरी और गुजरांवाला जाने का हाल मुझे भेजते हुए आर्यपथिक अपने १४ फरवरी, १८९५ के पत्र में लिखते हैं—"अब भिवानी स्यालकोट, कराची, होशियारपुर के जलसे समीप आगए। आपने क्या सलाह की है। आप समेत ८ महाशय जाने वाले हैं। उन में से ४ स्यालकोट और ४ भिवानी चले जावें। मैं और पंडित कृपाराम जी दोनों, लाभचन्द्र (भजनीक) समेत, होशियारपुर को भुगत लेंगे। बतलाइए अब क्या

आज्ञा है ? जिन जिन (महाशय) को जिस स्थान में भेजना है, आप भली प्रकार सोच विचार कर, शीघ्र सब को सूचित कर दीजिए जिस से ठीक समय पर काम हो"

ऊपर का उद्धृत लेख स्पष्ट सिद्ध करता है कि जिस प्रकार पं० लेखराम पेशावर आर्य-समाज के प्रबन्धकर्त्ता बने हुए थे उस से भी बढ़कर उन्हें दिन रात आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा पञ्जाब की चिन्ता रहती थी; परन्तु यश और कीर्ति का लेश-मात्र भी लालच उन्हें न था। होशियारपुर न जाकर २३, २४ फरवरी को भिवानी आर्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित हुए जहां व्याख्यानों के अतिरिक्त धर्म-चर्चा में भी विशेष भाग लिया।

भिवानी से पण्डित लेखराम सीधे कर्णाल आर्य-समाज के जलसे पर पहुंचे और उसी स्थान में उन के साथ मैं भी शामिल हो कर २७ से २९ मार्च तक काम करता रहा। शंका-समाधान का तो अधिक बोझ पंडित लेखराम पर रहता ही था, परन्तु कर्णाल के इस वार्षिकोत्सव पर जो दो व्याख्यान उन्होंने दिए उन्होंने हिन्दुओं के मुर्दातनों में भी जीवन फूंक दिया। पतितों के उद्धार और आर्य-जाति के भविष्य पर ऐसे बल-वर्धक व्याख्यान मैंने पहले नहीं सुने थे।

इसी वर्ष चिरकाल से सोया हुआ दिल्ली आर्य्य समाज जाग उठा था और ३० मार्च,१८९५ से उन के वार्षिकोत्स का आरम्भ था। इस वार्षिकोत्सव में भी पंडित लेखराम मेरे साथ

ही कर्णाल से चल कर सम्मिलित हुए थे । दिल्ली नगर में हमारा पहला नगरकीर्तन था इस लिए दिल्ली वाले हमारी भजन मण्डलियों को भी तमाशे वालों का विज्ञापन ही समझे । तब हमारे उपदेशकों ने भजनों के पश्चात् ऊंचे मूढ़ों पर खड़े हो कर व्याख्यान आरम्भ कर दिए । इस नगर प्रचार में पंडित लेखराम ने बड़ा काम किया । जब चांदनीचौक में छुन्नामल वालों के मकान के नीचे पंडित लेखराम ने अपनी वक्तृता आरम्भ कीतो दो हज़ार से कम की भीड़ भाड़ न थी ।

पंडित लेखराम के व्याख्यानों में महम्मदी लोग बहुत आते थे । बाहर से चाहे कुछ भाव लेकर आते परन्तु आर्य्य पथिक की आस्तिकता पूर्ण युक्तियां सुन कर " सुभानऽल्ला " और "बारकऽल्ला" के ही "नारे बलन्द" होते और दाढ़ी वाले सिर और गर्दनें चारों ओर हिलती दिखाई देतीं ।

अभी लाहौर पहुंच कर जीवन-चरित्र का कार्य फिर से आरम्भ किया ही था कि सियालकोट से एक सिक्ख रिसाले के सवारों के डांवाडोल होने के समाचार पहुंचे । पंडित लेखराम उसी समय सियालकोट पहुंचे और बड़े प्रेम से अपने सिक्ख भाइयों को धर्म का महत्व समझाया । तीन दिन तक महम्मदी-मत खन्डन में आर्य्य-पथिक के प्रबल व्याख्यान होते रहे जिस का परिणाम यह हुआ कि सैकड़ों ख़ालसे मुसलमान होने से बच गए ।

१३ अप्रैल, १८६५ के प्रातः काल मेरे साथ पंडित लेखराम जी मालेरकोटला आर्य्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मि-

लित हुए । यहां की कुछ मनोरञ्जक घटनाएं वर्णन करने के योग्य हैं। (१) मुसलमानी रियासत होने के कारण पंडित लेखराम के पहुंच ने की धूम मचगई। मद्ध्यानोत्तर का समय धर्म-चर्चा के लिए निश्चित था। एक सभ्य मुसलमान सज्जन, मुंशी अबदुल्लतीफ़ नामी, ने पुनर्जनन्म पर कुछ प्रश्न किए जिन का उत्तर पंडित कृपाराम देते रहे, परन्तु मुंशीसाहब प्रश्नोत्तर के पश्चात् केवल यह कह देते कि उन की तसल्ली नहीं हुई। जब तीन चार बार ऐसा ही हुआ तो मैंने पंडित कृपाराम जी का आशय उन को समझाना चाहा। इस पर वह बहुत बिगड़े। फिर भी जब दो तीन बार मैं प्रबन्ध के लिए उठा तो मुन्शी साहब ने रोक कर कहा—"आप कौन हो जो बार बार प्रबन्ध के लिए उठते हो।" मैंने उत्तर दिया कि मैं स्थानिक प्रधान की आज्ञा से प्रबन्ध कर रहा हूं। जब इस पर मुन्शी साहब को विश्वास न आया तो प्रधान स्थानीय आर्य्य-समाज ने मेरे कथन का समर्थन किया, और मैंने कहा कि मैं पञ्जाब आर्य्य-प्रतिनिधि-सभा का भी प्रधान हूं इस लिए प्रबन्ध में दख़ल दे सक्ता हूं। मुन्शी साहब इस पर बोले—" आप का नाम किसी प्रति-निधि के ताल्लुक़ (सम्बन्ध) में, किसी अख़बार में, ख़सूसियत से (विशेषतः) सद्धर्म्म-प्रचारक में भी, कभी नहीं पढ़ा। आप प्रतिनिधि के हरगिज़ प्रधान नहीं हैं।" तब तो मुझे कुछ असलियत खटकी और मैंने पूछा—"क्या आप मेरा नाम भी जानते हैं ?" मुन्शी अबदुल्लतीफ़ साहब ने फ़रमाया—" ख़ूब जानता हूं। आप पंडत (पंडित) लेखराम साहेब हैं।" इस पर श्रोता-गण खिलखिला कर हंस

पड़े और मुझे पता लगा कि पंजाबी लोकोक्ति ठीक है—

" नामी-शाह खट्ट-खाय , बदनाम चोर मारा जाय।"

पंडित लेखराम के व्याख्यान तो मुन्शी साहब ने सुने ही, परन्तु मेरे व्याख्यान के पश्चात् मेरे हाथ में ५) इस लिए दिए कि मैं जिस शुभ कार्य्य में उसे व्यय करना चाहूं करदूं। (२) दूसरी मनोरंजक घटना रात को हुई। म दस बारह दिनों से दिन रात काम करता आया था, इस लिए एकान्त में जाकर सो गया। एक घंटे के पश्चात् ही दो भाई मेरे पैर दबाने लगे। मैं उठ खड़ा हुआ। क्षमा मांग कर उन भाइयों ने कहा कि अनर्थ होने लगा है, शीघ्र चलिए। मुसलमानी रियासत और हमारे मना करते २ पंडित लेखराम ने मुसलमानों से मुबाहसा शुरू कर दिया है! मैं भागा हुआ पंडित लेखराम की ओर चल दिया। वहां क्या देखता हूं कि चार पांच मुसलमानों के बीच में बैठे पंडित लेखराम ने एक मुसलमान युवक का हाथ अपने हाथ में लिया हुआ है और दूसरा हाथ उस की जांघ पर रख रख कर उसे प्रेम से कुछ समझा रहे हैं, और युवक कह रहा है—" यह हवाला तो, पंडित जी, आपने कुरान शरीफ़ में से निकाल ही दिया। अब तो अपने मौलवी साहब से फिर पूछ कर आऊंगा। " परन्तु पंडित लेखराम ऐसी जल्दी कब जाने देते थे। बोले—" मैं तो मुसाफ़िर हूं, न जाने फिर मिलना हो वा नहीं। मेरा आशय तो सुन लो। " फिर आध घंटे तक वैदिक-धर्म की श्रेष्ठता जतला कर उन सब

मुसलमान भाइयों को बड़े प्रेम से विदा किया। जब मुसलमान विदा हो चुके, और पंडित लेखराम को मेरे आने का कारण ज्ञात हुआ, तो स्थानीय आर्य्य-समाजियों से कहने लगे—"तुम बड़े बोदे हो। क्या मैं तुम सों के भरोसे पर धर्म का प्रचार कर रहा हूं? ईश्वर जानता है, तुम से अविश्वासी नास्तकों से तो निमाज़ी मुसलमान हज़ार दर्जे बेहतर हैं।"

(३) फिर जब मैं १४ अप्रैल की रात को शिक्रम में बैठने लगा तो तीसरी मनोरंजक घटना हुई। आर्य्य पुरुष चाहते थे कि पण्डित लेखराम मेरे साथ ही विदा हो जायं, इस लिए मेरी शिक्रम को ठहरा लिया (क्योंकि उन दिनों मलेरकोटले को रेल नहीं जाती थी) और पंडित लेखराम को कहा कि मैं उन के लिये ठहरा हुआ हूं। आर्य्य-पथिक बिना बिस्तरादि लिए आए और पूछा—"क्या आप मुझे ज़बरदस्ती साथ लेजाना चाहते हैं।" स्थानीय अधिकारियों की दशा का ध्यान कर के मैंने कहा—"चलिए तो अच्छा ही है।" पंडित जी के लबफड़कने लगे—"मैं सब कुछ समझ गया हूं। आप मुझे आज से सभा का नौकर न समझिए। ईश्वर जानता है, ये लोग आर्य्य नहीं हैं। क्या मैं इन बुज़दिलों को खुश करने के लिए मैदान से भाग जाऊं। मैं सराय में डेरा कर के यहीं रहूंगा" मैं तो खिलखिला कर हंसा और पंडित जी को नमस्ते कह कर शिक्रम चलवादी और मलेरकोटले के आर्य्य-समाजी लज्जित हो कर आर्य्य-पथिक की सेवा सुश्रूषा में सन्नद्ध हुए।

मलेरकोटले से लौटने के पश्चात् पण्डित लेखराम के रोपड़ आर्य्य-समाज के जलसे में, २७ अप्रैल को, सम्मिलित होने का पता लगता है, जहां उनके दो व्याख्यान हुए थे।

इन्हीं दिनों प्रीतमदेव शर्मा की न्याई उदासी साधु बालकराम ने भी पंजाब का दौरा शुरू किया था और जिस प्रकार प्रीतमदेव, केशवानन्दादि ने स्वामी दयानन्द और आर्य्य-समाज को गालियां देना ही धनसञ्चय करने का साधन समझा था वैसा ही बालकराम ने भी अमल शुरू किया। इस लिए पंडित लेखराम को इस के मुक़ाबिले में कई जगह जाना पड़ा था। मास मई, १८८५ के आरम्भ में उदासी बालकराम भेरे में था, इस लिए पंडित लेखराम ने वहां पहुंच कर बराबर तीन व्याख्यान दिए। यद्यपि शास्त्रार्थ के लिए बालकराम जी तय्यार न हुए तथापि भेरा आर्य्य-समाज का वार्षिकोत्सव २४, २५, २६ मई १८८५ के लिए नियत हो गया।

पुत्रोत्पत्ति का आनन्द

पंडित लेखराम के घर में सन्तानोत्पत्ति की आशा थी, इस लिए वह १५ मई, १८८५ को लाहौर से अपनी धर्म-पत्नी को साथ ले कर अपने घर कहूटे में पहुंचे, जहां १८ मई शनिवार के दिन प्रातः ६ और १० बजे के बीच में उन के यहां पुत्र उत्पन्न हुआ। बच्चे का नाम-करण संस्कार वैदिक रीति से कर के, २२ मई को आर्य्य-पथिक ने फिर यात्रा आरम्भ करदी। ३६ वर्ष की आयु में विवाह कर के जब पुत्र उत्पन्न

हो तो उस के आनन्द में एक साधारण पुरुष सब कुछ भूल जाता है, परन्तु यहां तो अपने पत्र द्वारा मन्त्री जी से प्रतिज्ञा कर चुके थे कि गूजरखां और तरकी में विशेष कार्य्यों के लिए २३ और २४ मई को ठहरते हुए २५ को भेरा आर्य्य-समाज के उत्सव में सम्मिलित हो जायंगे। और ऐसा ही किया भी।

भेरा आर्य्य-समाज के इस वार्षिकोत्सव में मैं भी सम्मिलित था। पंडित लेखराम जी अपने पुरुषार्थ को सफल देख कर गद गद हो रहे थे। साधु वालकराम को भी निमन्त्रण भेजा गया परन्तु वह आ कर अपनी अप्रतिष्ठा कब कराता था! यहां आप के एक व्याख्यान का विषय था "आजकल के नौजवान (युवक) और उन की हिम्मत"। इस व्याख्यान में आर्य्य-पथिक ने कहा—"जो युवक व्यायाम नहीं करते वे खा कर कुछ पचा नहीं सक्ते और जब काफ़ी भोजन नहीं खाते तो बल कहां से आवे। देखो हस्पताल के बीमारों की खुराक गवर्मेन्ट की ओर से यह नियत है—आटा आधसेर, दाल एक पाव, घी एक छटांक, चावल आध पाव। हमारे युवक हस्पताल के बीमारों से भी बद्तर हैं कि दो तीन फुलकियां खा कर उठ खड़े होते हैं।" पण्डित लेखराम जी के व्याख्यान का यह भाग उन के सब साथियों और नगर निवासियों को भी कन्ठ हो गया था। २७ के प्रातः हम सब भेरा से चले और ७½ बजे लाला मूसा में पहुंच कर स्नान सन्ध्यादि सारी जमात ने किया। लग-भग ६ वा ७ उपदेशक थे। भोजन बनवाने का काम पण्डित लेखराम ने अपने ज़िम्मे लिया। जब भाजी आदि के

साथ आटे की पूरियां ला कर रक्खी गईं तो आध सेर आटे वाला मामला सब को हंसाता रहा। भोजन के समय आर्य्य-पथिक सब को टोकते जाते थे परन्तु मेरे साथ उनका सन्मुख्य हो गया। दो पूरियां उन्हें दी जातीं तो दो ही मुझे। इस प्रकार जब सब हार गए और हम दोनों भी सत्रह सत्रह पूरियां खा चुके तो पंडित जी ने हाथ धो लिए और मैंने दो और लेकर बस की। तब पंडित जी बोले—“लाला जी! मैं तो आप को रईसों में ही शुमार करता था। आप ने तो ग़ज़ब कर दिया।”

पंडित लेखराम वैसे तो बडी टेढ़ी प्रकृति के दिखाई देते थे, परन्तु थे बड़े ही हंस मुख और सरल हृदय; वह नहीं सहन कर सक्ते थे तो मक्कारी और झूठ को। भोजन के पश्चात् पुत्रोत्पति के लक्ष में पंडित लेखराम से सह-भोज मांगा गया। पंडित जी ने उस समय के सारे भोजन का व्यय अपने पास से देकर सब को प्रसन्न कर दिया।

ऋषिजीवन के काम में रुकावट।

भेरे से लौट कर पंडित लेखराम ने अभी जीवन चरित्र के काम को हाथ ही लगाया था कि फिर उन के लिए मांग कोटे से आई। इधर तो यह हाल और उधर जीवन चरित्र का मसाला पड़ताल कराने के लिए अन्तरङ्ग सभा ने प्रत्येक लेख की तीन प्रतियां तय्यार करने का प्रस्ताव स्वीकार किया। पंडित लेखराम भी ऐसी अवस्था में बड़े तङ्ग आजाते थे।

सभा के मन्त्री के नाम जो पत्र १७ मई को उन्हों ने कहूटे से लिखा उस में दर्ज था —"आर्य्य-प्रतिनिधि-सभा के गत दो अधिवेशनों में लाला मुन्शीराम के, विशेष आवश्यकताओं के कारण, न सम्मिलित होने से काम पूर्ण न हुआ। जो रेज़ोल्यूशन पास हुए हैं मैं उन के साथ सहमत नहीं हूं। तीन कापियां कराने में दो तीन सौ रुपए मुफ़ में फ़ालतू ख़र्च होंगे...... एक कापी का होना तो ज़रूरी है किन्तु एक से अधिक नहीं, उस से केवल व्यय ही बढ़ेगा। आप जानते हैं कि मैं यात्रा में, और विशेषतः उपदेश के लिए यात्रा में जीवनचरित्र का काम बिल्कुल नहीं कर सक्ता। और यात्रा की असावधानता में पत्रों के गुम हो जाने का भी सन्देह रहता है। अब मैं सब पत्र लाला जीवनदास के मकान पर ताले में बन्द कर आया हूं, साथ नहीं लाया।"

आर्य्य-पथिक के ऊपर लिखित दृढ़ प्रतिषेध करने पर भी उन्हें कोटे की ओर जाने की आज्ञा मिली। तदानुसार वह ८ जून १८६५ को लाहौर से चल कर मन्टगुमरी पहुंचे जहां उन्होंने दो व्याख्यान दिए। १३ जून को सीबी पहुंच कर व्याख्यान दिया और १४ को कोटे पहुंच गए। १६ और १८ जून को दो व्याख्यान देने के पश्चात् जुलाई के अन्तिम सप्ताह में आर्य्य समाज का वार्षिकोत्सव रखवाया।

इन्हीं दिनों मेरठ से पंडित लेखराम को एक पत्र, जालन्धर से घूमता हुआ, कोटे में पहुंचा जिस में लिखा था कि एक हिन्दू सभ्य मुसलमान हो चुका है और दूसरा होने वाला

है—और पंडित लेखराम से सहायता चाही थी। कोटे से विना आज्ञा मेरठ जाना कठिन था परन्तु पण्डित लेखराम के अन्दर कैसा आत्मा काम करता था उस का पता उनके पत्र से लगता है—"लाला मुन्शीराम जी को तार दी है कि इस का स्वयम् प्रबन्ध करें या जैसी आज्ञा हो लिखें तो उस का पालन करूंगा। आप भी उन से पूछ लें कि क्या बन्दोबस्त किया ?"

इधर तो आर्य्य-समाज कोटा का वार्षिकोत्सव नियत कराया और उस से पहले धर्म-प्रचार का सिलसिला जमाया और उधर घर से बड़ा शोक जनक समाचार मिला। जब पंडित लेखराम घर पर छुट्टी लेकर गए थे उन्हीं दिनों उन का भाई, तोताराम, बीमारी के बिस्तरे से उठा था, परन्तु निर्वल अधिक था। कोटे में चचा का पत्र पहुंचा कि १२ जून को भाई का देहान्त हो गया। इस पर १ जुलाई को जो पत्र, कोटे से, पं० लेखराम ने सभा के मन्त्री जी को लिखा वह उन के मानसिक भावों को बड़ी उत्तमता से प्रकट करता है ?—"मेरा छोटा भाई तोताराम १२ जून को मर गया परन्तु घर वालों ने मुझे कुछ समय तक सूचित न किया। कल पेशावर से मेरे चचा का पत्र आया जिस से हाल मालूम हुआ। हैरान हूं कि क्या करूं। इधर समाज को काम-उधर गृह की आपत्ति-हैरानी पर हैरानी है। यदि यहां से काम छोड़कर चला जाता हूं तो अपने समाज को हानि पहुंचती है और वहां भी बहुत सा हर्ज है। लाचार मैंने आज ही घर पत्र लिखा

है कि यदि वे मुझे आज्ञा दें तो जुलाई के अन्त तक क्वेटे रहूं, नहीं तो पत्र आने पर आप को सूचना दूंगा।"

मालूम होता है कि घर वालों ने, पडित लेखराम का अपनी धार्मिक संस्था से असीम प्रेम देख कर, फिर उन्हें तङ्ग नहीं किया क्योंकि क्वेटे में दो और व्याख्यान देकर हम उन्हें बलोचिस्तान का दौरा करते पाते हैं। २ जुलाई १८९५ को क्वेटे से चलकर बोलान, दोज़ान, कोलपुर, हिरक, चतरज़ई, पनीरबन्द आदि में प्रचार, और वेद प्रचारनिधि के लिए धन एकत्र, करते क्वेटे में लौट आए। फिर क्वेटा आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव से पहले दो व्याख्यान देकर नगर-निवासियों को तय्यार किया और वार्षिकोत्सव में दो व्याख्यान देकर लौट पड़े।

परन्तु क्या पण्डित लेखराम भाई के मरने से १ महीना १० दिनों के पश्चात् घर लौटे? दीना नगर से तार आया था कि मुसलमानों के साथ शास्त्रार्थ ठन गया है, तब आर्य्य-पथिक घर कैसे जाते? ३० जुलाई को क्वेटे से चलकर ३१ जुलाई को रुक जंकशन स्टेशन पर प्रातः १० बजे "ईश्वर प्राप्ति" विषय पर व्याख्यान दिया और फिर सीधे चलकर प्रथम अगस्त की रात को दीना नगर रेलवे स्टेशन पर पहुंच गए। यहां मौलवी अकबर अली और मौलवी चिरागुद्दीन, महम्मदी मत के प्रचारक, पहले से जमे हुए थे परन्तु शास्त्रार्थ के लिए सामने न आए। तब २ अगस्त से आरम्भ करके मौलवियों के मुक़ाबिले में ३ ज़बरदस्त व्याख्यान दिए, और जनता के आग्रह पर फिर तीन दिन और ठहर कर "वैदिक-धर्म की श्रेष्ठता"

"सन्ध्या की आवश्यकता" और "सचाई का मज़बूत चट्टान" विषयों पर बड़े सार-गर्भित व्याख्यान दिए। इनका प्रभाव उस समय के स्थानिक मंत्री जी इस प्रकार वर्णन करते हैं—"किसी वार्षिकोत्सव में इतनी जन संख्या उपस्थित नहीं हुई और पं० (लेखराम) जी के व्याख्यानों से लोगों के हृदयों में जो सहानुभूति आर्य्य-समाज के साथ उत्पन्न हुई है, उसका भी पहला ही अवसर है।............पं० जी के व्याख्यानों के पश्चात् यहां सन्ध्या पुस्तकों की बड़ी मांग हो रही है। जहां तक मेरा ख़याल है कोई भी आर्य्य-समाज का मेम्बर और धर्मात्मा हिन्दू न होगा जो अब भी दो घन्टे व्यय कर के दो काल सन्ध्योपासना न करेगा।"

८ अगस्त को अमृतसर पहुंच कर आर्य्य-पथिक ने "धर्म के मज़बूत चट्टान" विषय पर व्याख्यान दिया और ९ अगस्त को "सत्य के श्रोत" विषय पर। यहां पर ही मुरादाबाद की तार के साथ प्रधान आर्य-प्रतिनिधि की भी आज्ञा पहुंची कि मुरादाबाद में जाकर एक भाई को ईसाई मत के फन्दे से बचा लाइए। आर्य-पथिक विना किसी ननुनच के मुरादाबाद चल दिए। खन्ना (ज़िला लुधियाना का श्रीराम सारस्वत ब्राह्मण ईसाई हो चुका था जिस को वैदिक-धर्म का अनुयायी बनाया और प्रायश्चित के पश्चात् नगर कीर्तन करते हुए उसे आर्य-समाज मन्दिर मुरादाबाद में लाकर ५००पुरुषों की उपस्थिति में शुद्ध किया, और सब भाइयों ने श्रीराम के साथ खान-पानका व्यवहार आरम्भ कर दिया। उन दिनों सनातन धर्म सभा में आलाराम

सागर लोगों को आर्य-समाज के विरुद्ध भड़का रहा था परन्तु ११ से १५ अगस्त तक पांच प्रबल व्याख्यान देकर आर्य-पथिक ने हिन्दू मात्र को अपने साथ कर लिया और फिर अम्बाले का तार आने पर वहां को चल दिए। यहां पर ईसाईयों ने कुछ शोर मचाया हुआ था जिन के मुक़ाबिले में पं० लेखराम जी के व्याख्यान बड़े प्रभावशाली हुए और सर्व साधारण को ईसाई मत की निर्बलताओं का परिज्ञान हुआ।

अम्बाला छावनी में जिस काम के लिए आए थे उसे कर के २३ अगस्त को शिमला आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित हुए। शिमला में पंडित लेखराम के तीन व्याख्यान हुए। जिनमें से अन्तिम व्याख्यान टाउन हाल (Town Hall) में आर्य्य-समाज के नियमों पर हुआ। इस व्यायाम से प्रभावित होकर बहुत से नए सज्जन आर्य्य-समाज के सभासद तथा सहायक बने।

शिमले से लौटते हुए पं० लेखराम को वर्षा में भी भीगते आना पड़ा और अम्बाला में भी बादल न खुले। वहां अभी कपड़े सुखाने का बन्दोबस्त करने ही लगे थे और एक व्याख्यान भी दे चुके थे कि मेरा तार पहुंचा और आर्य-पथिक सीधे जालन्धर पहुंच गए। तीसरे पहर रेल से उतरते ही मेरे पास आए। मैंने उन को कष्ट देने का कारण बतलाया। धर्मशाला पर्वत के आर्य्य-समाज का वार्षिकोत्सव था और उसी समय कालिज पार्टी ने भी उत्सव मनाना निश्चित किया।

जहां उधर से बड़े बड़े प्रसिद्ध उपदेशक, लीडर और राय सा-हबान जाने वाले थे वहां हमारी ओर से लाभचन्द्र भजनीक को लेकर अकेले पं० कृपाराम जी पहुंचे हुए थे। उस स्थान में पं० लेखराम को भेजने का विचार था। २६ अगस्त को पं० लेखराम मेरे पास पहुंचे और धर्मशाला में ३१ अगस्त को नगर कीर्तन था; यदि दूसरे दिन प्रातःकाल ही चल देते तो धर्मशाला आर्य्य-समाज के सभासदों के डांवाडोल हृदयों का शान्ति मिल सक्ती थी।

मेरी सारी कहानी सुनकर पंडित लेखराम बोले "यह देखिए! लगातार सफ़र में सारे कपड़े मैले होगए, कहीं धुलाने का समय नहीं मिला। फिर शिमले से आते हुए उन मैले क-पड़ों में से भी एक सूखा नहीं बचा। मुझे परसों से ज्वर आता है और ज़ुकाम साथ हैं। बतलाइए! मैं जाने की अवस्था में हूं?" मेरी आंखों से अश्रुधारा बहने लगीं और मैंने कहा—"पं० जी! आप अब आराम कीजिए, धर्मशाला का विचार छोड़ दीजिए। वहां का भुगतान हो जायगा।" इतना कहकर मैंने पं० ज़ी को उनके निश्चित कमरे में उतारा और कपड़े सु-खाने के लिए अङ्गीठी जलवादी, क्योंकि उन दिनों व्यापक झड़ी लगी हुई थी। पं० लेखराम को भोजन कराके मैं अपने काम में लग गया और फिर उस रात उन्हें न मिला।

दूसरे दिन प्रातः मुक़द्दमों को प्रबन्ध कर के मैं जाने की तय्यारी करने लगा था कि पं० लेखराम कपड़ों का बेग बाहर

रख कर मेरे बरामदे में पहुंचे और मुझे अन्दर से बुलवाया। जब मैं बाहर पहुंचा तो क्या देखता हूं कि पाजामा, कोट पहिने पगड़ी का शमला छोड़े कमरकी पेटी हाथमें लिए आर्य्यपथिक यात्रा को तय्यार खड़े हैं। मुझे देखते ही बोले—"लाला जी! २०) रुपये मार्ग व्यय के लिए मंगा दीजिए और अपने दो नए कुर्ते भी। ऊपरी सफाई की मुझे परवा नहीं लेकिन शरीर से सटा हुआ तो शुद्ध वस्त्र ही होना चाहिए।"

मैं आर्य-पथिक की ओर आश्चर्य्य से देखने लगा और पूछा "क्या घर से कोई तार आया है।" उत्तर मिला—"घर की मुझे कब परवा है। वहीं धर्मशाला जाता हूं। क्या किया जाय। जाना ही पड़ेगा।" मैंने बतलाया कि मध्यानोत्तर की रेल में मैं चला जाऊंगा वह कष्ट न उठावें। पण्डित लेखराम, प्रसिद्ध कटु भाषी पंडित लेखराम, प्रेम से सनी हुई वाणी में बोले—"लाला जी! आप का यहां से हिलना बड़ा हानिकारक होगा। आप के ही बल से तो हम सब काम करते हैं। यदि ऐसी छोटी बातों के लिए आप को कष्ट दें तो हम किस मर्ज़ की दवा हैं। लीजिए! जल्दी रुपया मंगाइए, रेल का समय समीप आ रहा है।"

इस दृश्य को स्मरण कर के अब भी मेरी आंखों में आंसू भर आए हैं। आज आर्य्य-समाज की अवस्था पुकार २ कर चिल्ला रही है—लेखराम! हा! धर्म-वीर, कर्तव्य-परायण लेखराम!!"

रुपए अन्दर से आए, पेटी की बांसली में डाले गए और आर्य्य-पथिक घोड़ा-गाड़ी की भी प्रतीक्षा न कर के रेलवे स्टेशन की ओर चल दिए।

धर्म्म-शाला में अकेले लेखराम ने सच मुच सवा-लाख का काम किया। सनातनी ब्रह्मानन्द भारती ने नियोग की आड़ ले कर आर्य्य-समाज और उस के प्रवर्तक को बहुत कुछ कोसा था। उस के मुक़ाबिले में महात्मा हंसराज जी ने पहले से व्याख्यान दिए थे और नवीन वेदान्त मत का खन्डन भी किया था परन्तु भारती का प्रभाव न मिटा। तब पंडित लेखराम ने भारती जी को शास्त्रार्थ का घोषणा-पत्र भेजा। शास्त्रार्थ से तो वह बच गया परन्तु पण्डित लेखराम ने, विज्ञापन दे कर, नवीन वेदान्त मत खन्डन और वेदोक्त नियोग के मन्डन विषय पर २ सितम्बर की रात को बड़ा शक्ति-शाली व्याख्यान दिया। इस व्याख्यान में स्वामी ब्रह्मानन्द भारती और महात्मा हंसराज जी के अतिरिक्त धर्मशाला में उपस्थित सब सज्जन विद्यमान देखे गए। पण्डित लेखराम में एक बड़ा गुण था कि वह विरोधी की वक्तृता को स्वयम् सुन आते थे। इस लिए उन के व्याख्यान टाले नहीं जा सक्ते थे। इस व्याख्यान ने भारती की सारी लीला को समाप्त कर दिया और जो कल्चर्ड महाशय पंडित लेखराम को लठ्ठ-बाज़ और पेशावरी गुण्डा कह और लिख कर आर्य्य-पथिक से घृणा का भाव प्रकट किया करते थे उन्हों ने भी इस अपूर्व वक्तृता पर समय समय पर हर्ष प्रकट कर के अपने विरोधी विचारों का प्रायश्चित्त किया।

धर्मशाला से लौटते हुए पंडित लेखराम ने पठानकोट आर्य्य-समाज मन्दिर में "ईसाईमत खन्डन" पर एक व्याख्यान दिया, जिस की वहां आवश्यकता बतलाई जाती थी और वहां से "वेद-प्रचार निधि" के लिए धन भी एकत्र करलाए।

इस के पश्चात् भी कुछ थोड़ा ही काम ऋषि-जीवन सम्बन्धी कर पाए होंगे क्योंकि हम उन्हें गुजरातादि आर्य्य-समाजों में भ्रमण करते हुए देखते है। फिर मन्टगुमरी में प्रचार कर के अक्टूबर मास में ऐबटाबाद में प्रचार करने के अतिरिक्त रावलपिण्डी और अमृतसर आर्य्य-समाजों के जलसों में उन का सम्मिलित होना पाया जाता है।

अमृतसर आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव से निवृत्त होकर पंडित लेखराम ने लाहौर में तीन व्याख्यान दिए, जिन में "ब्राह्मसमाज के इतिहास" पर दृष्टि डालते हुए जो व्याख्यान हुआ वह बड़ा ही आन्दोलन पूर्ण था। लाहौर से चल कर ३ नवम्बर को मुलतान पहुंचे जहां ५ नवम्बर तक तीन व्याख्यान दिए। ६ नवम्बर को आराम कर के ७ को डेरागाज़ीखां पहुंचे जहां उन्होंने उसी सायंकाल के समय "धर्म की आवश्यकता" पर व्याख्यान दिया। फिर १० नवम्बर तक तीन और व्याख्यान दे कर ११ नवम्बर को मुज़फ्फ़रगढ़ पहुंचे। वहां दो व्याख्यान दे और करोड़ आर्य्य-समाज में प्रचार कर के लाहौर लौट गए।

जीवनचरित्र का थोड़ा ही काम कर सके थे कि लाहौर आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में भाग लेना पड़ा। नगरकीर्तन के समय नगर-प्रचार के अतिरिक्त १ दिसम्बर १८९५ को वार्षिकोत्सव का अन्तिम व्याख्यान दिया जिस में सब से अधिक जन संख्या थी। व्याख्यान पर श्रोता-गण इतने मोहित हुए कि समय समाप्त होने के एक घन्टा पीछे तक बरांबर जम कर बैठे रहे।

इन्हीं दिनों आर्य्य-पथिक का सब से बड़ा ग्रन्थ "पुनर्जन्म" विषय पर छप कर तय्यार हो गया और आर्य्य-जनता-मात्र ने उस का बड़े आदर से सत्कार किया।

लाहौर के उत्सव के पश्चात् फिर ज़ीवन-चरित्र का कार्य्य आरम्भ किया था कि आर्य्य-पथिक के लिए पुनः मांग आने लगी। ८ दिसम्बर को उन का व्याख्यान लुधियाना नगर में हुआ। १० को माछीवाड़ा ग्राम में धर्म-प्रचार कर के १२ दिसम्बर, १८९५ को रोपड़ पहुंचे जहां १३ तक दो व्याख्यान दिए। मूर्त्ति-पूजा विषय पर पौराणिक पण्डितों से यहां शास्त्रार्थ भी हुआ।

कहां रोपड़ और कहां शरक़पुर! दोनों रेलवे लाइन से दूर—परन्तु हम १५ और १६ दिसम्बर को उन्हें शक़रपुर (ज़िला लाहौर) में व्याख्यान देते देखते हैं।

इस वर्ष का दौरा भी गत वर्षानुसार जालन्धर आर्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव पर ही समाप्त हुआ, और वहां से ही आर्य-पथिक ने नए वर्ष का कार्य आरम्भ किया।

जनवरी, १८९६ के आरम्भ में ही पटियाला राज में पहुंच कर पांच व्याख्यान दिए। वहां से लाहौर लौट कर जीवन चरित्र में कुछ त्रुटि देख ११ जनवरी, १८९६ को फिर मुलतान में ऋषि जीवन सम्बन्धी आन्दोलन के लिए गए। १९ जनवरी से ३ फ़रवरी तक वहां रहे; इस अन्तर में वहां सात व्याख्यान भी दिए। ४ फ़रवरी को लाहौर लौट कर फिर जीवन चरित्र का काम होने लगा, परन्तु स्थानीय प्रचार भी साथ साथ चलता रहा। ९ फरवरी को मियां मीर में और १०तथा११फ़रवरी को अमृतसर में व्याख्यान दिए।वहांसे चलकर १४ से २४ फ़रवरी तक डेरा-इस्माइलखां आर्य-समाज में रहे जहां उदासी साधु बालकराम ने शोर मचा रक्खा था। यहां बड़ी धूम के व्याख्यान हुए। लौटते हुए २५, २६ फ़रवरी को मुज़फ्फरगढ़ में व्याख्यान दिए और २७ फ़रवरी के दिन डेरा ग़ाज़ी खां पहुंच गए। वहां एक पादरी से शास्त्रार्थ कर के नगरकीर्तन कराया जिस में स्वयम् थोड़ी २ दूरी पर व्याख्यान देते रहे और २८ फ़रवरी को फिर ७०० की जनोपस्थिति में आर्य्य-समाज के नियमों पर व्याख्यान दिया जिस की समाप्ति पर १३ नए सभासद् बने।

इसके पश्चात् लाहौर लौटकर जीवन चरित्र की छपाई के साथ साथ स्थानीय प्रचार भी करते रहे। फिर १५ मार्च को कर्णाल पहुंचे जहां नगर कीर्तन में नगर प्रचार करने के अतिरिक्त दो अत्युत्तम व्याख्यान दिए। वहां से १८ मार्च, १८९६ को चल कर १९ को दिल्ली में 'वैदिक-धर्म की श्रेष्ठ-ता" पर व्याख्यान दिया। और वहां से सीधे अजमेर पहुंचकर वहां के आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित हुए। वार्षिकोत्सव की कार्य वाही में तो पं० लेखराम के दो बलयुक्त व्याख्यान हुए ही परन्तु नगरकीर्तन में एक ऐसी घटना हुई जिसे अजमेर आर्य्य-समाज केवृद्ध सभासद अभी तक नहीं भूले हैं।

आर्य्य-पथिक भजन मण्डली के साथ झूमते हुए जा रहे थे, और बीच में कहीं कहीं व्याख्यान भी देते जाते थे। मार्ग में कुछ मुसलमान भाइयों से बात चीत होने लगी। पंडित लेखराम के उत्तर सुन कर कुछ मुसलमान भड़क उठे। "ख़्वाजा चिश्ती"की दर्गाह पास थी,इस लिए आर्य्यसमाजी डर कर भाग गए। अकेला लेखराम-न यार न मदद गार। परन्तुक्या लेखराम ने अपना धर्म प्रचार का काम बन्द कर दिया? नहीं। कहीं सुना था कि विधर्मी के धर्म-मन्दिर से ३० कदम की दूरी पर प्रत्येक धर्म-प्रचारक को अपने मत के समर्थन करने का अधिकार है। आप दर्गाह के द्वार पर पहुंचे। मुसलमान आश्चर्य से इन की क्रिया को देख रहे थे। लेखराम ने दर्गाह

के द्वार से उच्च स्वर में करम गिनने आरम्भ किए और ती-सवें करम (पग) पर पहुंच, एक छोटे पुल पर खड़े होकर धर्म-प्रचार शुरू कर दिया । " क़ब्रप्रस्ती " और "मर्दुम-परस्ती" इत्यादि का ज़बरदस्त खन्डन होने लगा। मुल्लाओं ने वहुतेरा भड़काया परन्तु मुसलमान सर्व-साधारण जनता ने (जो एक सहस्र की संख्या में एकत्र हो गई थी) वहदानियत (एक ब्रह्मवाद) की एक २ चोट पर वक्ता के साथ सहानुभूति प्रकट की। उस समय तक आर्य्य-समाजियों को भी होश आ चुका था। चुपके से दो चार देखने गए कि लेखराम पर कैसी बीती, क्या मारा गया वा कहीं भाग कर बच गया । किन्तु उन के आश्चर्य की सीमा न रही जब उन्हों ने प्रचारक के व्या-ख्यान का प्रभाव अपनी आंखों से देखा और मुसलमान जन साधारण को वक्ता के वशीभूत पाया !

अजमेर से लौट कर पंडित लेखराम ने एक सप्ताह ही जिवन चरित्र का काम किया होगा कि मुस्तफ़ाबाद (ज़िला अम्बाला) के उत्सव के लिए उन की मांग आई। १०, ११, १२ अप्रैल, उस उत्सव में सम्मिलित रहें जिस में साधारण व्याख्रयानों के अतिरिक्त दो हिन्दुओ को मुसलमान होने से बचाया। इस के पश्चात् २४ से २६ अप्रैल तक हम पण्डित लेखराम को दीनानगर आर्य्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित पाते हैं । ७ जून, १८९६ को जालन्धर आर्य्यसमाज में " आर्यों के जातीय व्यौहार " विषय पर व्याख्यान देना छपा है।

ऐसा मालूम होता है कि इन दिनों विशेष प्रकार से फिर पण्डित लेखराम जालन्धर में स्थित हो गए थे, और अपनी धर्म-पत्नी तथा बच्चे सहित (जिस का नाम सुखदेव रक्खा था) महल्ला "कोट कृष्णचन्द्र" में किराए के मकान में निवास करते थे।

जालन्धर में गृहस्थ जीवन
और
आदर्श ब्राह्मण गृह ।

जालन्धर में ही पंडित लेखराम ने वास्तविक में गृहस्थाश्रम का आरम्भ किया, इसी स्थान पर देवीलक्ष्मी जी की गोद हरी हुई और अन्त को इसी भूमी में पंडित लेखराम को अपने अकौते पुत्र का अन्त्येष्टि संस्कार करना पड़ा, इस लिए उन के गृहस्थ जीवन का पूरा वृत्तान्त इसी स्थान में देना आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है।

पंडित लेखराम जी का मेरे साथ विशेष प्रेम था, इस के बतलाने की आवश्यकता नहीं, फिर भी वह उस समय सारे आर्य्य जगत को एक परिवार समझने लगगए थे और इस लिए उनका किसी स्थान विशेष से प्रेम नहीं रहसक्ता था। परन्तु पंडित लेखराम जी की धर्मपत्नी, श्री मति लक्ष्मीदेवी जी, उस उच्च आदर्श को ग्रहण नहीं कर सकी थीं। उनका मन केवल जालन्धर निवासिनी आर्य्या स्त्रियों से ही मिला हुआ था। लाहौर में वह जब तक रहीं अपने आपको परदेस में समझती रहीं और इस लिए वहां से घर चली गई थीं।

जब पुत्र उत्पन्न हो चुका, उसके पश्चात् स्वभावतः उन्हें भरी गोद लेकर उसी जालन्धर नगर में लौटने का उत्साह हुआ जहां से वह गोद हरी लेकर गई थीं। इसी अन्तर में पंडित

लेखराम का लाहौर में रखना भी कुछ अनावश्यक ही प्रतीत हुआ क्योंकि जीवन चरित्र की तय्यारी में उन को मुझ से अधिक सहायता मिल सक्ती थी। तब यही ठीक समझा गया कि उन्हें लाहौर से जालन्धर आने की आज्ञा दी जावे।

इन्हीं दिनों पं० लेखराम जी के पिता का देहान्त होगया, और इस लिए १६ से २८ मई, १८९६ तक की छुट्टी लेकर वह अपने निवास-स्थान कहूटा को चले गए और वहां से अपनी धर्म-पत्नी और पुत्र को साथ लेकर जालन्धर आगए।

पंडित लेखराम को मैं एक सच्चा ब्राह्मण मानता हूं और उनके गृह को आदर्श ब्राह्मण गृह समझता था क्योंकि वह त्याग का जीवन व्यतीत करते थे। चिरकाल तक उन्हें २५) मासिक वेतन ही मिलता रहा और उसी में वह अपना निर्वाह करते रहे। फिर जब उनका विवाह होगया तो सभा ने स्वयम् उन को ३०) मासिक देना आरम्भ कर दिया; आर्य्य-पथिक ने वेतन वृद्धि के लिए कोई प्रार्थना पत्र नहीं दिया था। फिर जब पंडित लेखराम के घर पुत्र उत्पन्न हुआ और मुझे मालूम हुआ कि उन्होंने "हिन्दू परस्पर सहायक भंडार" में सम्मिलित होने के अतिरिक्त १७ जून १८९५ से "सन् लाइफ़ इन्श्युरेन्स कम्पनी" में अपने जीवन का बीमा करा लिया है, तब मैंने सभा का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करके उन का वेतन ३५ मासिक करा दिया था। शायद यह समझा जावे कि पंडित लेखराम को अपनी रची हुई पुस्तकों की बिक्री

से अधिक आमदनी होती होगी, परन्तु उन की मृत्यु के पश्चात् उन की पुस्तकों का सारा हिसाब पड़ताल करने से मुझे ज्ञात हुआ कि जब तक आर्य्य-पथिक की पुस्तकों का सारा प्रबन्ध सद्धर्म्म-प्रचारक यन्त्रालय के आधीन (शायद सं० १८६५ में) नहीं हो गया था तब तक उन्हें पुस्तकों से एक कौड़ी का भी लाभ नहीं होता रहा। पण्डित लेखराम के पीछे कइयों ने " आर्य्य-मुसाफ़िर " नाम धराए, और उस के सहारे सहस्रों रुपये कमाए; परन्तु आर्य्य-पथिक ने धन जमा करना अपना उद्देश्य रक्खा ही न था और यदि वह अपने जीवन का बीमा न करा जाते तो देवी लक्ष्मी के पास अपने निर्वाह के लिए शायद थोड़े से आभूषणों के अतिरिक्त कुछ भीं न बचता। और वह बीमे का आया हुआ धन क्या देवी लक्ष्मी ने बर्ता ? सच्चे-ब्राह्मण लेखरान ने अपनी धर्म-पत्नी को भी ब्राह्मणी ही बनाया था और उन्होंने बीमा का पूर्ण २०००) रुपया गुरुकुल-कोष में जमा करा के सदा के लिए आर्य्य-पथिक के स्मारक में एक विद्यार्थी पढ़ाने की बुनियाद रख दी। मुझे आशा है कि सच्चे ब्राह्मण-कुल के पवित्र दान से पढ़े हुए ब्रह्मचारी भी त्यागी सच्चे ब्राह्मण ही निकलेंगे।

पण्डित लेखराम प्राचीन ब्राह्मणों की तरह त्याग की मूर्त्ति तो थे, परन्तु इस से यह न समझना चाहिए कि मद्ध कालीन घसिया वैराग के वह दास थे। नहीं, प्रत्युत गृहस्थ जीवन का आदर्श भोगने की, उन के कर्मों में सदा, चेष्टा दिखाई देती है। थोड़े से धन से ही पुत्र के पालन और गृहस्थ की रक्षा का

बड़ा उत्तम प्रबन्ध किया करते थे। सुखदेव को गोद में ले कर खिलाते देख कोई विचार-शील पुरुष नहीं कह सक्ता था कि सच्चे प्रेम का उन में अभाव है। इस के अतिरिक्त कुछ अन्य वैरागी आर्य्यों की तरह वह अपने परिवार से भी उदासीन न रहते थे। परन्तु परिवार के प्रेम में फंस कर अपने सिद्धान्तों से गिर कर आत्म-घाती कभी नहीं बनते थे। इस के प्रमाण में आर्य्य-पथिक का जालन्धर से २४ जून, १८९६ को अपने चचा के नाम लिखा हुआ पत्र काफ़ी है। इस पत्र में पण्डित लेखराम लिखते हैं—"पिता जी के देहान्त का समाचार घर वालों ने मुझे नहीं भेजा था। आप के पत्र से ही पहले पहल मुझे उस की सूचना मिली। मैं ११ वा १२ दिन घर रह कर लौट आया और लाला साहेब (पिता जी से तात्पर्य) तथा तोताराम—दोनों के मृतक शरीरों की भस्म भी साथ लाया, जो मार्ग में शास्त्र की आज्ञानुसार झेलम नदी में प्रवाह कर दी। मैं अब यहां चार पांच महीने रहूंगा। एक मकान २) मासिक किराए पर लिया हुआ है। स्वामी जी का जीवन-चरित्र यहां साफ़ कर के, फिर छपवाया जावेगा। जब तक यह न छप जाय तब तक यहां ही रहूंगा ....घर में (अर्थात् कहूटे में) अब कोई आदमी नहीं है। सय्यदपुर के मकान का तो अब फ़ैसला ही हो गया, कहूटे के लोगों से आप परिचित ही हैं; बतलाइए अब मकान कहां बनाऊं। आप ने तो रावलपिण्डी में बना लिया, और आप आयु भर वहीं रहेंगे.....कोई फूल और कोई कहूटे की सलाह देता है। आर्य्य-सामाजिक भाई प्रत्येक अपने २ शहर में सम्मति देते हैं। मैं चाहता था कि यदि

ऐसा स्थान होता जहां आप भी समीप होते तो उचित था। मुझे यद्यपि अब सारा जगत् ही कुटुम्बवत् दिखाई देता है और अपने सम्बन्धियों के साथ भी जन-साधारण से बढ़ कर प्रेम नहीं रहा तथापि रक्त का सम्बन्ध भी कुछ प्रभाव रखता है। आप जो सम्मति उचित समझें अवश्य लिखें.....................चिरञ्जीव सुखदेव के दांत निकल रहे हैं; छः निकल चुके हैं, इस लिए कभी दस्त आ-जाते हैं—वैसे वह स्वस्थ है, और उस की माता भी स्वस्थ है।" इस सम्बन्ध में पण्डित लेखराम की दिन-चर्य्या का समय विभाग, जो उन्हों ने अप्रैल १८९६ ई० की समाप्ति पर लिखा था, बड़ा प्रकाश डालता है:—

(१) "चार घड़ी अर्थात् सवा घन्टा रात रहे उठ कर शौच के लिए जङ्गल में जाना फिर दन्त धावन और स्नान तथा सन्ध्या; और अग्नि-होत्र सूर्य के उदय होने पर। अग्निहोत्र लक्ष्मी जी (आर्य्य-पथिक की धर्म्म-पत्नी जी) कर लिया करें और कभी २ मैं स्वयम् भी कर लिया करूंगा।

प्रत्येक दिन व्यायाम करना, ठीक ४० डण्ड।

(२) वेद पाठ एक घन्टा; कुरान, तौरेत, इन्जील का स्वाध्याय एक घन्टा वा अन्य मतों सम्बन्धी पुस्तकादि। ग्रन्थ निर्माण का कार्य्य ११ बजे तक।

(३) ११ बजे से २ बजे तक—भोजन, विश्राम गृहस्थ के कार्य्यादि और प्यारी लक्ष्मी को पढ़ाना।

(४) ३ से ५ बजे तक पुस्तकावलोकन तथा लेख, विशेषतः ऐतिहासिक विद्या सम्बन्धी।

(५) मलत्याग, शौच, सन्ध्या, भ्रमण, व्याख्यान अर्थात् लोगों को सद्धर्म्म का उपदेश देना। अग्नि-होत्र, भोजन, घर का प्रबन्ध—६ बजे से ९ बजे तक।

(६) अपने संशोधन के सम्बन्ध में विचार। सोने से पहले मुंह हाथ पांव धो कर कुल्ला करना और परमेश्वर का ध्यान करना। रात के दस बजे सोना; पूरे छः घन्टे सोना, कम बिल्कुल नहीं। एक चारपाई पर न सोना चाहिए; ऋतु गामी होना चाहिए।

(७) मल त्याग के लिए अधिक समय न बैठना चाहिए, इस से बवासीर हो जाती है।

(८) खाना जहां तक हो सके चबा कर खाना; ३२बार यदि प्रत्येक ग्रास चबाया जावे तो कोई बीमारी नहीं होती। खाने के पश्चात् तत्काल ही लघु शंका के लिए बैठना चाहिए क्योंकि इस से मसाने की बीमारी नहीं होती।

(९) प्रातःकाल उठकर पहले अनुमान आध पाव के बासी पानी नाक पकड़ कर पीना, जिस से अजीर्ण कभी नहीं होता।

(१०) पाजामे के अन्दर लङ्गोट रखना चाहिए और लंगोट समेत नहाना चाहिए। लघु शंका के पश्चात् पानी वा

समाज का वार्षिकोत्सव १६, १७ अगस्त, १८९६ को था। बीमार पुत्र को वहां से जालन्धर छोड़ कर पण्डित लेखराम शिमला आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित हुए। वहां से जब २६ अगस्त को जालन्धर लौटे तो प्यारे सुखदेव की बीमारी बढ़ी हुई देखी। हम सबने चिकित्सा तथा निदान कराने में कुछ उठा नहीं रक्खा, परन्तु हम सब के देखते २ पं० लेखराम का प्यारा पुत्र २८ अगस्त, १८९६ के दिन, सवा वर्ष की आयु में, इस भौतिक शरीर को त्याग कर स्वर्ग-लोक का पथ गामी बना। उस समय पण्डित लेखराम की सहन शक्ति का मैंने चमत्कार ही देखा था। किसी प्रकार के भी शोक को समीप नहीं आने देते थे।

परन्तु बच्चे की दुखिया माता के हृदय पर बड़ा भारी वज्रपात दिखाई देता था। जिस जालन्धर की भूमी में पुत्र रूपी रत्न प्राप्त किया था उसी भूमी पर उस की राख करके फिर कोमल हृदय भारत रमणी से कब वहां निवास किया जा सक्ता था। धर्म-पत्नी को लेकर पं० लेखराम घर पहुंचाने चले गए और दो दिनों के पश्चात् पूर्ववत् ही धर्म-प्रचार में सन्निद्ध होगए।

साधारण प्रचार का अन्तिमवर्ष।

जुलाई के आरम्भ में पसरूर (ज़िला सियालकोट) से पंण्डित लेखराम के लिए मांग आई। आ० प्र० सभा क एक प्रचारक ने महम्मदी जगत् को हिला दिया था। इस पर तीन

महम्मदी प्रचारक बुलाए गए जिन से शास्त्रार्थ की छेड़ छाड़ शुरू हुई, तब पण्डित लेखराम के लिए तार पहुंचा। १८ जुलाई, १८९६ को आर्य्य-पथिक जालन्धर से चले और १९ को सायंकाल पसरूर में पहुंच गए। उसी समय बड़ा भारी नगर-कीर्तन हुआ। २० जुलाई को पहला व्याख्यान "वैदिकधर्म्म की श्रेष्ठता" पर हुआ जिस में ८०० हिन्दुओं के साथ २०० मुसलमान् भी उपस्थित थे। व्याख्यान की समाप्ति पर पसरूर में उपस्थित पांच मौलवियों को प्रश्न करने का अवसर दिया गया परन्तु सिवाय एक मौलवी के और कोई न उठा और उस ने भी केवल आर्य्य-पथिक की बातों को दोहरा दिया। दूसरे व्याख्यान का विषय था "सचाई का मज़बूत चट्टान" मौलवी लोगों ने पत्र-व्यवहार में ही समय समाप्त किया और पण्डित लेखराम दो और व्याख्यान दे कर जालन्धर लौट आए।

पसरूर के सम्बन्ध में एक घटना लाला गणेशदास सियालकोटी ने लिखी है जो धर्मबीर लेखराम के निडर आत्मा की साक्षी है। तीसरे दिन पण्डित लेखराम व्याख्यान के लिए अभी खड़े होने की ही तय्यारी कर रहे थे कि एक बड़े प्रसिद्ध म्यूनिसिपल-कमिश्नर आए और महाशय मथुरादास प्रचारक के पास बैठ कर कुछ कानाफुसी करने लगे। आर्य्य-पथिक ने कहा—"घुसपुस क्या करते हो—क्या बात है?" प्रचारक मथुरादास जी ने कहा कि यह महाशय थानेदार साहब का सन्देसा लाए हैं कि यदि बलवा (लड़ाई

झगड़ा) होगया तो पुलिस ज़िम्मेवार न होगी। आर्य्य पथिक की आंखें लाल होगईं और कड़क कर बोले— "क्या हम युद्ध करने आए हैं? हम तो धर्मोपदेश के लिए आए हैं सो जब तक चाहेंगे स्वतन्त्रता से करेंगे। जिस का जी चाहे सुने, जिस का जी न चाहे न सुने। अगर यों ही बलवा हो तो पड़ा हो। हम देखेंगे कौन बलवा करता है। हम थानेदार साहब वा और किसी साहब की रक्षा की परवाह नहीं करते।"

जब व्याख्यान के लिए खड़े हुए तो देखा कि टाउन पुलिस के कुछ चौकीदार हाथ भर का लम्बा डन्डा लिए खड़े हैं। उन की ओर देख कर अटक अटक कर कड़कते हुए बोले —"ओ काली पगड़ी वालो! अगर व्याख्यान सुनना है तो अपनी खुशी से ठहरो नहीं तो तुम्हारी रक्षा की हमें परवाह नहीं है; अभी चले जाओ। मैं देखूंगा कि कौन मुझे काट जाता है।"

पसरूर से निवृत्त हो कर पंडित लेखराम शिमला आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित होने के लिए चले गए। वहां पहले से मिर्ज़ा गुलाम अहमद के चेले ख़्वाजा कमालुद्दीन ने अपने मिशन का काम जारी कर रक्खा था। पण्डित लेखराम ख़्वाजा साहेब के व्याख्यानों को सुनने जाते रहे और फिर आर्य्य-मन्दिर में तीन बड़े ज़बरदस्त व्याख्यान दिए। महम्मदियों की निमाज़ के मुक़ाबिले में आर्यों की सन्ध्या की श्रेष्ठता जतलाई और वैदिक-धर्म के सौन्दर्य्य को भली प्रकार प्रकाशित किया।

मुसलमान तो पण्डित लेखराम के आक्रमणों से मुद्दत से तङ्ग आए हुए थे, परन्तु उन दिनों आर्य्य-पथिक ने एक नई पुस्तक

हुज्जतुल इसलाम

का नोटिस दे रक्खा था। मुसलमान सुन चुके थे कि पण्डित लेखराम इस पुस्तक में महम्मदी मत के विरुद्ध अपना सारा ज़ोर लगाएंगे। इस से पहले मिर्ज़ा गुमाम अहमद क़ादियानी; आर्य्य-पथिक की अकाट्य युक्तियों से तङ्ग आकर, जवाब देने की, ताब न रखते हुए उन्हें मौतकी धमकी दे चुका था और लिख चुका था।

الاا ے دُشمن ناں ان وبےراہ
بترس ازتیغ بُران محمّد

कि महम्मदी तलवार से डर और इसलाम के विरुद्ध लिखना छोड़ दे। इन सब अवस्थाओं के होते हुए जब मिर्ज़ा क़ादियानी के चेले ने हिन्दुओं के अन्ध विश्वासों को आर्य्य-समाज पर मढ़ना शुरू किया तो अपने अन्तिम व्याख्यान में पण्डित लेखराम ने यह सिद्ध करने के लिए प्रमाण दिए कि इसलाम के पैग़म्बरों ने खुदाई का दावा करके कुफ़ फैलाया है। जो प्रमाण आर्य्य-पथिक ने उस समय दिए थे वे सब "हुजत्तुल इसलाम" में पीछे छप गए हैं। सारा सभा-मण्डप मनुष्यों से भरा हुआ था, जिन में आधे मुसलमान थे। जब पंडित लेखराम ने अन्यों के प्रमाण देते २

एक आयत पढ़ी जिस का अर्थ था—"मैं खुदा के नूर से हूं।" और इस पर एक कवि का बचन पढ़ा—

بظاہر نور ایزد سے جُدا ہے
شعاع نور بے کیف خدا ہے

जिस का तात्पर्य यह है कि यद्यपि महम्मद ब्रह्म के प्रकाश से जुदा प्रतीत होता है परन्तु वह है वही ब्रह्म। मुसलमानों की जमात में से एक युवक मण्डल से रहा न गया और उन में से एक युवक बी० ए० ने चीख़ कर कहा—"क़ाफ़िरों को काटने वाली महम्मदी शमशीर को मत भूल" पण्डित लेखराम एक पल के लिए रुक गए; फिर जिधर से शब्द सुने थे उधर आंखें घुमा कर सिंहनाद गुंजादिया—"मुझे बुज़दिल महम्मदी तलवार की धमकी देता है। मैंने अधर्मी निर्बल मनुष्यों से डरना नहीं सीखा। जानते नहीं हो मैं जान हथेली पर लिये फिरता हूं।"

सारे हाल में सन्नाटा छागया और व्याख्यान के अन्त तक फिर किसी ने चूं न की। जैसा कि मैं पहले बतला चुका हूं शिमला से पण्डित लेखराम सीधे जालन्धर गए थे जहां अपने अकलौते पुत्र का उन्हें अन्तेष्ठि संस्कार करना पड़ा। जालन्धर से परिवार को घर छोड़ कर पंडित लेखराम सीधे वज़ीराबाद के वार्षिकोत्सव में सितम्बर, १८९६ के आरम्भ में ही पहुंच गए। इस के विषय में श्री नारायण कृष्ण जी प्रधान आर्य्य-समाज गुजरांवाला ने लिखा है—

"आर्य्य-पथिक सब बातों पर आर्य्य-समाज के काम को तर्जीह दिया करते थे। हम लोगों को याद है कि एक बार जब हम लोग वज़ीराबाद के उत्सव पर गए हुए थे तो वहां हम को समाचार मिला कि पण्डित लेखराम का अकौता बेटा संसार से चल बसा है। वज़ीराबाद पहले उन के आने की ख़बर बड़ी गर्म थी परन्तु इस शोक-जनक समाचार को सुन कर समझा गया कि अब पण्डित जी नहीं आ सकेंगे। परन्तु बहुत थोड़ी देर के पश्चात् आश्चर्य से देखा कि वह अपने घर से सीधे उत्सव में आ पहुंचे और ऐसी शोक-जनक घटना के होते हुए भी अपने धार्मिक कर्तव्य को बड़ी गम्भीरता से पलन करते रहे।"

वज़ीराबाद के इस वार्षिकोत्सव में मैं भी सम्मिलित था। पहले दिन पंडित लेखराम जी का व्याख्यान प्रातःकाल के समय विभाग में छपा हुआ था, परन्तु राजा सरअताउल्ला और उन के परिवार के सम्मिलित होने के कारण उस समय मुझे खड़ा किया गया। न जाने मुसलमान भाई पंडित लेखराम से क्या आशा रखते थे कि मेरे व्याख्यान को सुन कर विस्मित हो गए। उन की समझ में न आया कि आर्य्य-मुसाफ़िर क्यों ऐसा जन-प्रिय तथा शान्ति-वर्धक व्याख्यान देता है। मेरा विषय ईश्वर-प्राप्ति था और मैंने उस में महम्मदी बुत और पीर परस्ती की भी ख़बर ली थी; इस लिए श्रोता-गण को निश्चय हो गया कि पंडित लेखराम ही बोल रहे हैं।

सायंकाल के व्याख्यान में मेरा नाम था, इस लिए उस समय क़ादियानी मिर्ज़ागुलाम अहमद के चेले हकीम नूरउद्दीन

भी तशरीफ़ लाए थे। मुसलमानों की भी पर्याप्त उपस्थिति थी जब पंडित लेखराम व्याख्यान के लिए खड़े हुए। उस व्याख्यान में पंडित लेखराम ने ईश्वर का स्वरूप ऐसा खींचा कि मुसलमानों के सिर हिलने लग गए। फिर जब झूठे पैग़म्बरों की पोल खोलनी शुरू की तो जहां मुसलमान सर्व साधारण कर्त्तालिका ध्वनी से सभा मण्डप को गुंजाने लगे वहां मौलवी नूरउद्दीन बहुत खिज रहे थे, परन्तु उस समय क्या हो सकता था। आर्य-पथिक के व्याख्यान की नगर में धूम मच गई।

सांयकाल हम सब पलकू के किनारे किनारे श्रोत की ओर दूर निकल गए और सन्ध्या वंदन से निवृत्त होकर रात को लौट रहे थे कि नगर के बाहर एक मस्जिद के खुले मैदान में मौलवी नूरुद्दीन अपना धर्म-प्रचार कर रहे थे। रात अंधेरो थीं, हम सब सुनने खड़े होगए। मौलवी साहब बोले—"अरे बेवकूफों! तुम सब बकरों की तरह दाढ़ी हिला रहे थे और यह न समझे कि तुम्हारे ईमान पर कुल्हाड़ा चला रहा है।" इतना ही सुनकर मैंने पंडित लेखराम जी को उनकी कृत कार्यता के लिए बधाई दी और हम सब भोजन शाला को चल दिए।

मुझे यह भी याद पड़ता है कि दूसरे दिन बाज़ार में आर्य्य-पथिक की कुछ मुसलमानों से बात चीत होने लगी, जिस पर आर्य्य पुरुष घबरा गए थे; परन्तु उसका परिणाम अच्छा ही निकला।

हम सब वज़ीराबाद आर्य्य-समाज के उत्सव में ही सम्मि-

लित थे कि मुकेरियां के एक भाई वहां के अधिकारियों का पत्र लेकर पहुंचे जिससे पता लगा कि वहां एक विचित्र प्रकार का शास्त्रार्थ रचा गया है। सनातन सभा के किसी पंडित ने एक महाभारत के श्लोक को वेद मंत्र कह कर पेश किया, जिस पर आर्य्य-समाज तथा सनातन सभा के प्रधानों का विवाद होगया और दोनों के हस्ताक्षर से एक स्वीकार पत्र स्टाम्प पर लिखा गया। इस स्वीकार पत्र का तात्पर्य यह था कि यदि सनातन सभा का पंडित अपने बोले श्लोक को वेद में दिखा दे तो आर्य्य-समाज के प्रधान ५००) जुरमाना देंगे, परन्तु यदि सनातनसभा का पंडित ऐसा न दिखा सके तो सनातन-सभा का प्रधान ५०) जुरमाना देगा। मैंने इस जुआबाज़ी के शास्त्रार्थ से इनकार करना चाहा, परन्तु आर्य्य-पथिक ने कहा कि जुएबाज़ी को अलग कर के यह तो हमारा कर्तव्य है कि अपने मत का समर्थन किया जावे। बस हम दोनों गुरुदासपुर पहुंच कर इक्के पर ९ सितम्बर को २ बजे दिन के मुकेरियां पहुंच गए। उस दिन मैंने और दूसरे दिन आर्य्य-पथिक ने व्याख्यान दिए। तीसरे दिन २००० की उपस्थिति में सनातनी बड़े २ पंडित भी श्लोकोवेद-मन्त्र सिद्ध न कर सके।

परन्तु इस स्थान की एक घटना पंडित लेखराम के हठ और उन के धर्म्म-प्रेम दोनों का परिचय देती है। मैं यतः मन्त्रों का उच्चारणादि शुद्ध कर सक्ता था इस लिए मुकेरियां के आर्य्य भाई चाहते थे कि शास्त्रार्थ मैं करूं। उन को यह भी डर था कि कहीं पंडित लेखराम अपने अक्खड़पन से

उलटा असर न डाल देवें । जब वेदों में आन्दोलन करके देख लिया कि विवादास्पद छन्द वेद-मन्त्र नहीं प्रत्युत महाभारत का श्लोक है तो मैंने कहा कि हममें से एक को अब जाने दो क्योंकि हम दोनों ने जगराउं आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित होना है और वहां १२ सेप्तेम्बर के प्रातः पहुंचने के लिए मुकेरियां से ११ के प्रातःकाल चल देना चाहिए । जाने को मैं स्वयम् तय्यार हुआ जिस पर तीन बार यही उत्तर मिला कि कोई इक्का नहीं मिलता; फिर यह निश्चय हुआ कि पण्डित लेखराम जी जांय । यह निश्चय होना ही था कि पांच मिनिटों में बड़ा तेज़ इक्का लाकर खड़ा कर दिया गया । पंडित लेखराम जी असल बात ताड़ गए और बोले —"अब बड़ी जल्दी इक्का आगया । जाओ मैं नहीं जाता, मैं तुम्हारी शरारत समझ गया हूं ।" मैंने इक्का ले जाने को कहा और आर्य-भाई घबराए कि अब शास्त्रार्थ में पंडित लेखराम जी खड़े होकर कहीं काम न बिगाड़ दें । जब शास्त्रार्थ के मैदान में आए और मैंने पंडित लेखराम को कुर्सी पर बैठने को कहा तो उनमें विचित्र परिवर्तन दिखाई दिया । ऐसा ज्ञात होता था कि सारे शास्त्रार्थ का उत्तरदातृत्व उन्हीं पर है और यह उनका ही कर्त्तव्य है कि सब से योग्य आदमी को शास्त्रार्थ के आसन पर बैठाएं । मुझे कहा—"लाला जी ! बैठिए, शास्त्रार्थ आप करेंगे ।" मैंने कहा कि पण्डित लेखराम की उपस्थिति में मैं कैसे बैठ सक्ता हूं । उत्तर बड़े प्रेम और आग्रह पूर्वक था । मुसकिराकर बोले—"वह बात अब जाने दीजिए, यह आप का ही काम है। यदि मैं बैठ गया तो शास्त्रार्थ की रिपो-

ई कौन लिखेगा।" यह कहा और मुझे पकड़ कर कुर्सी पर बैठा दिया।

यह आचरण का परस्पर विरोध शायद सब की समझ में न आएगा, परन्तु बुद्धिमान पाठक इसके रहस्य को समझ जायंगे।

१२ सितम्बर को मुकेरियां से चल कर दिन रात यात्रा करते हुए हम दोनों १३ को प्रातः जगराउं के वार्षिकोत्सव में जाकर सम्मिलित हुए। जो रहतिए पीछे से शुद्ध होकर आर्य्य-समाज में सम्मिलित हुए थे वे पहले पहल इसी स्थान में पण्डित लेखराम जी को मिले थे।

जगराउं में फिर नियत घटना आकर उपस्थित हुई। वहां के पौराणिकों ने स्वयम् आर्य्य-समाज का सामना करने की शक्ति न देखते हुए मुसलमानों को मुबाहसे के लिए खड़ा किया। तहसीलदार भी मुसलमान था, इस लिए उन्हें विजय की बड़ी आशा थी। मैं जब उत्सव समाप्त कर के लौटने लगा तो कुछ आर्य्य भाइयों ने वहां भी मेरी मिन्नत की कि मैं आर्य-पथिक को साथ ही ले जाऊं। मैंने मलेरकोटले की व्यथा याद करके ऐसा करने से इन्कार कर दिया। शहर में धूम मच गई कि आर्य्यों को, और विशेषतः लेखराम को, कष्ट दिया जायगा। परन्तु सिंह के समीप जाना बड़ा कठिन था। विरोधियों की पोल खोलने से पहले आर्य्य-पथिक लेखराम जगराउं से न हिले।

२६, २७ सितम्बर, को पण्डित लेखराम झङ्ग के वार्षिकोत्सव में व्याख्यान देते तथा शंका समाधान करते रहे।

नवम्बर के अन्त में लाहौर आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव में सम्मिलित होकर व्याख्यान दिए और उस के पश्चात् फिर २७ दिसम्बर, १८९६ के दिन जालन्धर आर्य समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव पर पहुंचे। इन दोनों महीनों लाहौर रहकर जीवन चरित्र की तय्यारी और छपाई का काम निर्विघ्नता से होता रहा और अपनी माता तथा धर्म-पत्नी को भी आर्य-पथिक ने लाहौर में ही टिका दिया। जालन्धर आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव पर व्याख्यान देकर पंडित लेखराम मेरे साथ ही लुधियाना आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव पर गए। उस स्थान की एक घटना वर्णनीय है जिस से पता लगता है कि प्रतिज्ञा-पालन का भाव आर्य्य-पथिक को कैसा दृढ़ संकल्प बनाए हुए था।

लुधियाना आर्य्य-समाज के वार्षिकोत्सव पर अन्तिम दिवस पण्डित लेखराम का व्याख्यान नियत था। उस से पहले मैंने वेद-प्रचार-निधि के लिए अपील की थी और जब धन एकत्र हो चुका तो पण्डित लेखराम व्याख्यान के लिए खड़े हुए। ११ माघ, सम्वत् १९५३ के सद्धर्म प्रचारक में लिखा है—"अभी व्याख्यान आरम्भ नहीं किया था कि पण्डित जी की प्रकृति कुछ रुग्न हो गई (पेट में दर्द होने लगा था) जिस कारण वह अपना व्याख्यान न दे सके। उनके स्थान में लाला मुन्शीराम जी ने धर्म विषय पर........व्याख्यान दिया........ उनके पश्चात् पण्डित जी की प्रकृति कुछ ठीक हो

गई और उनका व्याख्यान आरम्भ हुआ।............ जनो-पस्थिति १२०० के लगभग थी।" २६ दिसम्बर की रात को लुधियाना आर्य्य-समाज का उत्सव समाप्त हुआ और ३१ की शाम को पण्डित लेखराम रेल और टट्टू की यात्रा करते हुए शरक़पुर आर्य-समाज में पहुंचे और १ जनवरी, १८६७ के दिन धर्म-चर्चा में पूरा भाग लेने के अतिरिक्त एक पतित की शुद्धि की और अपने प्रभावशाली व्याख्यान के साथ वार्षिकोत्सव को समाप्त किया। शक़रपुर से लौटकर फिर पण्डित लेखराम के भागोवाला (ज़िला गुरुदासपुर) आर्य्य-समाज के उत्सव में ही सम्मिलित होने का पता लगता है जो १७ और १८ जनवरी को हुआ था। उत्सव में पण्डित लेखराम जी ने दो व्याख्यान दिए और उत्सव के पश्चात् तक ठहर कर चौधरी फ़तेहसिंह के लड़के का नामकरण संस्कार कराया तथा आर्य्य-समाज के कुछ नएं सभासद् बनाए। यह सब कुछ तो किया परन्तु मुझे जिस दृश्य में अधिक आनन्द आया वह उत्सव के समय का शास्त्रार्थ था।

सायंकाल अपना व्याख्यान समाप्त कर के मैं सन्ध्या बन्दन के लिए चला गया। फिर भोजन कर के बैठा था जब पता लगा कि एक मुसलमान ग्रेजुएट के साथ पंडित लेखराम का शास्त्रार्थ हो रहा है। कम्बल ओढ़ कर मैं शास्त्रार्थ का आनन्द लेने चल दिया। जनोपस्थिति अढ़ाई हज़ार से कम न होगी। आस पास के ग्राम स्त्री पुरुषों से खाली हो गए थे। इन में दो

सहस्र तो जाट थे और शेष ब्राह्मण, खत्री, मुसलमानादि। एक तुर्की टोपी वाला एक ओर और आर्य्य-मुसाफ़िर दूसरी ओर बैठे हैं। प्रश्नकर्त्ता "तुर्की टोपी" थे और उत्तरदाता पण्डित लेखराम। पंडित लेखराम मेरे आने से पहले यह प्रतिज्ञा स्थापन कर चुके थे कि उत्तर में दुर्जन-तोष न्याय के अनुसार जो कुछ वह कहेंगे उस के लिए कुरान वा हदीस मूल का प्रमाण देंगे, और पूछा था कि क्या महम्मदी प्रश्नकर्त्ता भी ऐसी प्रतिज्ञा करने को तय्यार हैं। "तुर्की टोपी" उत्तर दे चुकी थी कि वह भी मूल वेद का ही प्रमाण देंगे। महम्मदी ग्रेजुएट ने प्रश्न नियोग विषय पर कर छोड़ा था और जब मैं पहुंचा तो एक पुस्तक हाथ में लिए उस में से कुछ पढ़ रहा था। मेरे सामने निम्न लिखित नाटक हुआ।

महम्मदी—"देखिए हवाला रगवैद, मन्दिल········ सोकत········"

आर्य्य पथिक—"शुद्ध उच्चारण तक नहीं कर सक्ते हो और वेद-दानी का दावा है। वस तुम निग्रह स्थान में आ गए। या तो दावा छोड़ो या हार मानों।"

महम्मदी—"अजी हम वैद जानें या न जानें, एतराज़ तो ठीक है।"

आर्य्य पथिक—"पहले कहो—मैंने झूठ बोला कि मैं मूलवेद जानता हूं और झख-मारी—यह कहो तब मुबाहसा आगे चलेगा।"

मुहम्मदी ग्रेजुएट ने बहुत हेरा फेरी की परन्तु अन्त में उस को कहना ही पड़ा—" अच्छा मैंने ग़लत कहा था कि मैं मूल-वेद में से हवाले दूंगा—अब मेरे सवाल का जवाब दीजिए।"

आर्य-पथिक—"आए अब राह-ए-रास्त (सीधे मार्ग) पर; हां, अब जवाब देता हूं।"

मेरे पास दस बीस पढ़े लिखे मुसलमान और दो तीन मौलवी खड़े थे, सब बोल उठे—"सुबहानऽल्ला! क्या ताकृस मुनाज़रा (वाद शक्ति) है! शेर के पंजे में फंसा हुआ है।"

पंडित लेखराम ने न केवल वैदिक नियोग का ही भली प्रकार मंडन किया प्रत्युत मुसलमानों के मुताके मसऽले को भी पेश किया। इस पर मुहम्मदी ग्रेजुएट ने कहा—"सिर्फ़ कुरान की आयत पढ़ देने से काम न चलेगा। किसी मुस्तनिद तफ़सीर (प्रामाणिक भाष्य) का हवाला भी देना होगा।"
आर्य्य पथिक— " अच्छा बतलाओ तुम किस तफ़सीर को मुस्तनिद मानते हो ?"

महम्मदी ग्रेजुएट ने जिस तफ़सीर का नाम लिया वही पण्डित लेखराम के हाथ में थी, उन्होंने उसमें से पढ़कर सुना दिया। मालूम होता है कि तुर्की टोपी ने कभी कोई तफ़सीर वफ़सीर पढ़ी न थी, पण्डित लेखराम से किताब खुद पढ़ने को मांगी। यहां

पण्डित लेखराम की हाज़िर जवाबी काम आई। महम्मदी ग्रेजुएट मुबाहसे में एक स्थान में कह चुका था कि "खुदा को बीच में क्यों घसीटते हो, क्या लाज़मी है कि खुदा को मान कर ही मुबाहसा चले ?" इसी का सहारा लेकर और सामने खड़े एक वृद्ध मौलवी साहेब को सम्बोधन करके आर्यपथिक ने कहा—

"मौलवी साहेब ! आप तशरीफ़ लाकर हाज़रीन को पढ़ सुनाइए कि कुरान शरीफ़ की तफ़सीर में क्या लिखा है। इस दहरिए (नास्तिक) के हाथ में मैं कुरान शरीफ़ न दूंगा।"

मौलवी साहेब को कोई आकर्षण शक्ति वेदी पर खींच ले गयी और उन्होंने तफ़सीर के शब्द ज्यों के त्यों पढ़ कर अपनी ओर से यह भी कह दिया—"कौन कहता है कि कलाम मजीद में मुताका हुक्म नहीं है ?"

सभा मण्डप करतालिकाध्वनि से गूंज उठा और सभा विसर्जन हुई।

इसके पश्चात् पण्डित लेखराम जमकर लाहौर में ही जीवन चरित्र का काम करते रहे और उनके कहीं बाहर प्रचार के लिए जाने का पता नहीं लगता। मैंने भी उनका यह अन्तिम व्याख्यान सुना; इसके पश्चात् पण्डित लेखराम का सबसे अन्तिम प्रचार मुलतान नगर में हुआ जिस का हल उनके पत्र से ज्ञात होता है जो उन्होंने ४मार्च को ११ बजे रात्री के समय, मन्त्री आर्य-प्रतिनिधि सभा को लिखा था—"मेरे यहां ४

व्याख्यान हुए, खूब रौनक़ रही। मेरे सक्खर जाने के लिए यहां के समाज की सम्मति नहीं है, क्योंकि वहां कारन्टीन बीमारी का लगा हुआ है। मुझे आग्रह पूर्वक उन्होंने रोक लिया है और आपको तार दे दी है। मुज़फ्फ़र गढ़ में दूसरा समाज होने की शङ्का है इस लिए आज रात को वहां जाता हूं।"

पाठक वृन्द! आपने आर्य्य-पथिक के जीवन के साथ साथ इतनी यात्रा की, आपका उत्साह बढ़ता गया और इस पवित्र जीवन के साथ प्रेम की वृद्धी होती गई। क्या आप अकस्मात इस जीवन श्रृङ्खला को टूटते देखकर दुखित न होंगे? मैं भी उसी प्रकार दुखित हूं और चाहता नहीं कि उसका वर्णन शीघ्र समाप्त हो। परन्तु काल की गति के आगे किस का वश चला है। फिर भी मुलतान के अन्तिम प्रचार को विस्तृत करके शिर पर आई हुई आपत्ति को कुछ काल के लिए टालना चाहता हूं।

मुलतान में कालिज दल वालों की ओर से दूसरा आर्य-समाज खुला हुआ था। उन्होंने आर्य्य-प्रतिनिधि सभा के काम के विषय में कुछ भ्रम फैलाए थे जिन्हें दूर करने पण्डित लेखराम गए थे। पण्डित लेखराम जी के मुक़ाबिले में उन लोगों ने भी व्याख्यान कराए जिन में पण्डित लेखराम को अपशब्द हीन कहे गए प्रत्युत सिक्खों को भड़काने के लिए उन्हें गुरु निन्दक बतलाया गया। ऐसी अवस्था हो चुकी थी जब ४ मार्च को पण्डित लेखराम का इस जीवन में अन्तिम व्याख्यान

हुआ। इस का आंखों देखा हाल एक सभ्य पुरुष ने, १४ वर्ष हुए, मुझे लिख कर भेजा था जिसे यहां उद्धृत करता हूं:—

"पण्डित (लेखराम) जी के व्याख्यान कुप्यवङ्गरी-गीरां और समाज मन्दिर में होते रहे। मैंने जाकर मुसलमानों से कहा कि उन से मुबाहसा करलो, वे कहने लगे कि यह बड़ा आलिम (विद्वान्) है हम उस की बराबरी नहीं कर सक्ते। ....एक दिन पंडित जी ने लाला काशीराम[क] वकील को, जो उस समय कल्वर्ड समाज के प्रधान थे, और चेतनानन्द जी (वकील) को समाज मन्दिर में बुलवाया और उन से कहा—"देखो मिर्ज़ा ने कैसी सख़्त किताब लिखी है जो कि अनजानों को भ्रम में डाल सक्ती हैं। इसका उत्तर अवश्य देना चाहिए। आप लोग निरे लड़ाई झगड़ों में पड़े हुए हो।" बहुत सी बात चीत हुई परन्तु कुछ परिणाम न निकला, बल्कि उसी दिन उन लोगों ने भाई जगतसिंह का व्याख्यान कुप्यवङ्गरीगीरां" में कराया। वहां ख़ालसों की उपस्थिति ख़ासी थी जिस में लाला काशीराम और लाला चेतनानन्द ने स्वयम् कहा कि पंडित लेखराम कहता है कि गुरुनानक मुसलमान था इस लिए उस का समाज से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं। मैं कुछ भाइयों समेत पंडित जी के दर्शन को गया और व्याख्यान का सारा हाल उन्हें सुनाया। कुछ देर सोचने के पश्चात् बात चीत करते हुए पंडित जी के मुंह से निकला—"कौन कहता है कि गुरुनानक मुसलमान थे?" चलो कल यही व्याख्यान होगा।"

क-(आर्य्य-पथिक की मृत्यु के पश्चात् यह फिर वेद-प्रचार-दल के समाज के प्रधान हो गए थे।)

नोटिस रात को ही लिखे गए। दूसरे दिन ४ बजे मध्यानोत्तर मैं समाज-मन्दिर में गया। कई भाइयों के प्रश्नों के उत्तर देते रहे। फिर अजावयन मंगाई और साफ़ कर के पानी के साथ खाली और कहा—"रेल में यही मेरा जीवन है, यह बड़ी उत्तम औषधी है।" सात बजते ही पण्डित जी व्याख्यान के मैदान में पहुंचे। हम लोग भजन गाते थे और पण्डित जी पेन्सिल से व्याख्यान के लिए नोट लिख रहे थे। सिक्ख भड़काए हुए बड़े जोश से लाठिएं लिए जमा थे। व्याख्यान आरम्भ हुआ। आर्यवर्त की अवनति के आरम्भ काल से वक्तृता को उठाकर परस्पर के द्वेप के बीज का खोज लगाते हुए बतलाया कि थोड़े से स्वार्थ ने आर्य्य-वर्त का नाश कर दिया है। आपने बतलाया कि महमूद और अलाउद्दीन के विजय का साधक तुच्छ जीवों का स्वार्थ ही था। बहुत से दृष्टान्तों के पश्चात् आप ने विष्णु बावा, मुंशी इन्द्रमणि और स्वामी दयानन्द की हिम्मत का वर्णन किया जिन्हों ने विरोधी आक्रमणों से आर्य्य-जाति को बचाने का प्रयत्न किया। इस के पश्चात् अपने विषय को लेकर मिर्ज़ागुलाम अहमद की "सत् बचन" पुस्तक में से गुरु नानक के मुसमान होने के विषय में लेख पढ़कर चारों ओर देख पूछा—"यदि कोई ख़ालिसा बहादुर विद्यमान हैं तो इसका जवाब दे।" फिर लाला काशीरामादि के उत्तर में "ग्रन्थी फोबिया" पुस्तक पेश कर के पूछा कि जिन कल्चर्ड साहेबान ने गुरु नानक के विरुद्ध ऐसी पुस्तक छपवाई, क्या वे अब गुरु नानक के पवित्र आचरण पर लगाए कलंक को दूर

कर सक्ते हैं ?" फिर बड़े प्रबल प्रमाणों और युक्तियों से सिद्ध किया कि गुरु नानक मुसलमान न थे।

व्याख्यान की समाप्ति पर लाला चेतनानन्द जी के मुंशी ने विघ्न डालने की नीयत से कहा—"पंडित (लेखराम) जी ने (अपने व्याख्यान में) गुरु नानक को हिन्दू तो कहीं नहीं कहा" इस कुटिल नीति को भी पंडित लेखराम की हाज़िर जवाबी ने परास्तकर दिया। आर्य्य-पथिक बोले—

"देखो बाबा नानक देव स्वयम् क्या कहते हैं—हिन्दू अन्हा (अन्धा) तुर्को काणा । दोहां विचों ज्ञानी स्याणा—बाबा नानक जी ज्ञानी अर्थात् आर्य्य थे, गुलाम हिन्दू न थे।"

हमारे चरित्र नायक के जीवन की रंग-भूमि में अन्तिम जवनिका उठने वाली है वह अन्तिम दृश्य बड़ा ही मर्म भेदक, गंभीर और पवित्र है जो अपने स्थिरसंस्कार आर्य जनता पर छोड़ गया है। उस की अन्तिम जवनिका के गिरने के पश्चात् कुछ लिखना पाठकों के उच्च आदर्श की ओर उठे हुए हृदयों को फिर से भूमि तल पर पटकने के सदृश होगा, इस लिए आइए ! इस विचित्र जीवन पर एक व्यापक दृष्टि पहले से ही डाल जांय।

आर्य्य-पथिक का चरित्र संगठन

गुण दोषों पर एक दृष्टि ।

बचपन से ही लेखराम पर ब्राह्मणत्व के संस्कार पड़ रहे थे । यद्यपि वर्ण बिचार से जन्म क्षत्री गृह में हुआ था तथापि लेखराम के पूर्व जन्म के प्रबल संस्कार, विरुद्ध वायु-मण्डल में भी, उन्हें ब्राह्मणत्व के सांचे में ढाल रहे थे । उन का

त्याग का सरल जीवन

निस्सन्देह शाक्षी दे रहा था कि पुलीस के बदनाम महकमे के अन्दर भी सावधान रहकर यह एक दिन इन्द्रियों के दासत्व की बेड़ी को काट डालेंगे । तमाकू की तो बचपन में ही बैतुल बाज़ी से जड़ काट डाली थी । मांस मद्य तथा अन्य मादक द्रव्यों के कभी समीप नहीं गए । पाप रूपी दूषण तो एक ओर रहे किसी व्यसन को भी जीते जी समीप नहीं आने दिया । और तो और पान भी कभी नहीं खाया । कपड़ों के बनाव चुनाव को वह ज़नाना-पन के नाम से पुकारा करते थे । स्वास्थ अत्युत्तम रहता था, इस लिए पोशाक से शोभा बढ़ाने की उन्हें आवश्यकता न थीं । कैसे भी कपड़े किसी ढंग से पहन लें, उनके शरीर पर स्वयम् शोभा पा जाते थे । जब तक अत्यन्त आवश्यकता न होती तब तक दरमियाने दर्जे में भी यात्रा न करते । और जो व्यय करते वही सभा से लेते । जहां अन्य उपदेशक पूरे इक्के का किराया १) लगाते वहां आर्य्य पथिक के बिलों में

स्थिर होता है। पण्डित लेखराम जैसे मध्यम श्रेणी के धार्मिक वीरों में से थे वैसे क्षात्र-धर्म्म-मिश्रित गुण भी उन में प्रवेश किए हुए थे। धर्म्म की आड़ में अधर्म होता देख कर वह डांट बताए बिना रह नहीं सक्ते थे। और आर्य्य-समाज के सभासदों को गिरे हुए देख कर तो उन्हें बहुत ही शोक हुवा करता था। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं उन की नोट बुक से कुछ लेख उद्धृत करता हूं।

सं० १८६१ ई० के जनवरी मास में पण्डित लेखराम ऋषि दयानन्द के जीवन वृत्तान्त का मसाला इकट्ठा करते हुए दानापुर (बिहार प्रान्त) आर्य्य-समाज में पहुंचे। यहां के विषय में उन की गुप्त नोट बुक में दर्ज है—"दानापुर समाज का एक अफ़सोसनाक हाल—२७, २८ जनवरी १८६१ ई० (१) वहां के तमाम मेम्बर बिरादरी के डर के मारे श्राद्ध करते हैं। (१)—नामी मेम्बर आर्य्य समाज के घर में उस के लड़के की शादी है। उस ने २७ जनवरी की रात को एक कत्थक का नाच कराया जिस में चन्द मुअज्ज़िज़ मेम्बर आर्य्य समाज गए। —भूत पूर्व मन्त्री, —उप प्रधान, —आदि। और आज २८ जनवरी बुद्धवार को उस के यहां रंडी का नाच है। मुझे अफ़सोस से मालूम हुवा कि एक मेम्बर ने आर्य्य-समाज के मन्दिर में आकर लोगों को यह न्योता दिया कि आज भी तुम चलना।

"बिरादरी का ज़ोर तोड़ने के वास्ते मेम्बर लोग बिलकुल कोशिश नहीं करते। वैसे हालत समाज की अच्छी है।

मकान भी अपना ज़र-ख़रीद है, एक स्कूल भी जारी है, स्कूल के हेडमास्टर समाज के प्रधान हैं, तादाद भी एक माकूल है, हाज़िरी भी माकूल होती है, २५ मेम्बर संध्या करने वाले भी हैं, कुछ हवन करने वाले भी हैं, लाइब्रेरी भी ख़ासी— लेकिन बे सूद ! (व्यर्थ) "

इस में सन्देह नहीं कि दुराचार से आर्य्य-पथिक को बड़ी घृणा थी परन्तु इस लिए दुराचारी पुरुष को त्याग कर उसे उस के भाग्य पर छोड़ देना वह अनार्यपन समझते थे। जब किसी आर्य्य-समाज में जा कर किसी काम करने वाले को अनुपस्थित पाते और सामाजिक सभासदों से उस पर दुराचार का आक्षेप सुनते तो सैर को चलते हुए उस के यहां पहुंच जाते और उसे साथ ले समझा कर गिरते २ उसे बचा लेते। ऐसी कई आप बीती घटनाएं लोगों को याद होंगी। यही कारण था कि यद्यपि मुहम्मदी मत को सब से बढ़ कर दुराचार की शिक्षा रूपी विषय फैलाने का साधन समझ कर उस की जड़ उखाड़ने को उद्दित रहते थे परन्तु महम्मदी जिज्ञासुओं के साथ जो उन को प्रेम था वह उन के मित्र भली प्रकार जानते हैं, और इसी प्रेम ने अन्त को उन्हें एक महम्मदी राक्षस की छुरी का शिकार बनाया।

यह प्रसिद्ध है कि साधारण सच्चे आदमी प्रायः क्रोधी अधिक होते हैं।

हठ और क्रोध

की मात्रा पण्डित लेखराम में भी अधिक थी। यों तो थोड़े ही सच्चे आदमी ऐसे देखने में आते हैं जिन में हठ और क्रोध का अभाव हो, किन्तु जिन धर्म सेवकों को दिन रात मूढ़ता, कुटिलता और अधर्म के साथ युद्ध करना पड़ता है उन की हठ और क्रोध की मात्रा रुद्र रूप धारण कर लेती है। यह सौभाग्य शताब्दियों के पश्चात् किसी योगी संशोधक को प्राप्त होता है कि वह अधर्म के लिए रुद्र रूप धारण करते हुए भी क्रोध और हठ को बश में रख सके। पण्डित लेखराम योगी न थे और नहीं धर्म के प्रवर्तकों में से एक, इसीलिए उन में हठ और क्रोध रूपी दोनों निर्बलताएं थीं। किन्तु हम उनके जीवन वृत्तान्त में यह कहीं नहीं पाते कि उस हठ वा क्रोध से किसी को कुछ हानि पहुंची हो।

एक बार अजमेर के आर्य्य-समाज मन्दिर में डेरा लगाने के पश्चात् कुछ लिख रहे थे। बाबूराम विलास सार्डा जी (जो वैदिक यन्त्रालय के अजमेर पहुंचने के दिन से ही उसके संरक्षक रहे हैं) ने पूछा कि महाराज क्या लिख रहे हो। उतर मिला—"वैदिक प्रेस वालों की ज़रा सी वेपरवाई से हमारे सिर पर आफ़त आजाती है और विरोधियों को उत्तर देते देते थक जाते हैं। देखो इस पत्थर-पूजक ने एक पुस्तक लिखी है जिसने यन्त्रालय की लापरवाई से फ़ायदा उठा कर बहुत से ऊटपटाङ्ग एतराज़ किए हैं। हम किस २ का उत्तर दें; आप लोग कुछ प्रबन्ध नहीं

करते ।" सार्दा जी ने निवेदन किया कि गुजनियां पुरानी हैं उन के संशोधन का कुछ तो प्रयत्न हो ही रहा है। इस पर क्रोध में भर कर बोले—"खाक कर रहे हो" और जो ५० वा ६० पृष्ठ लिखे हुए थे सब फाड़ डाले। जब सार्दा जी फटे पत्र इकट्ठा करने लगे तो उन्हें भी छीन लिया। सार्दा जी उदास हो कर घर चले आए और दूसरे दिन नियमानुसार पंडित जी को मिलने न गए। तब तो हमारे बीर उन के घर जाने को तय्यार हो गए। लोगों ने चपरासी दौड़ाया; सार्दा जी तत्काल हाज़िर हुए। जब सार्दा जी ने अपने न आने का कारण बतलाया तो आप गुलाब की तरह खिल गए और बोले —"ईश्वर जानता है सार्दा जी आप आर्य्य-समाज के सच्चे प्रेमी हैं, मैं उस पत्थर-परस्त का जवाब ज़रूर लिखूंगा।" और फिर आपने "सांच को आंच नहीं" शीर्षक देकर शिवनारायण प्रसाद कायस्थ की पुस्तक का उत्तर लिखा जो "कुल्लियात आर्य्य-मुसाफ़िर" के १?४ पर से आरम्भ होता है। हठ तो पंडित लेखराम में बहुत था, जिस के दृष्टान्त बचपन से ही मिलते हैं, परन्तु उस हठ का ही परिणाम

प्रतिज्ञा पालन की धुन

थी। आर्य्य-पथिक ने एक वार जो मुंह से निकला उसे हठ कर के भी निभाने का सदैव प्रयत्न किया। इन के अन्दर जहां धर्म के साथ प्रेम का भाव सर्व साधारण

से कहीं बढ़कर था वहां उस के निभाने के लिए आत्म-समर्पण तथा तप का भी बड़ा उच्च भाव था। इसके उदाहरण जहां बचपन से मिलते हैं वहां युवाऽवस्था में यह भाव हम यौवन पर चढ़ा हुआ पाते हैं। रिसाला धर्मोपदेश के लिए एक दो बार कातिब (कापी नवीस) न मिला। स्वयम् अभ्यास कर के छापने की स्याही से कापिएं लिखीं किन्तु रिसाले को बन्द न होने दिया।

हम देख चुके हैं कि १२ वर्ष की आयु में ही अपनी चची को एकादशी व्रत करते देखकर स्वयम् उपवास करने लग गए थे और जब तक उस पर श्रद्धा रही दृढ़तापूर्वक इस व्रत को निबाहा।

ज्वर हो, फोड़े निकले हों, चलने के अयोग्य हों, पुत्र की मृत्यु का शोक हो; कोई भी आपत्ति वा विपत्ति उन को अपने कर्तव्य पालन से नहीं रोक सकती। उन की दो काल की सन्ध्या के अटूट नियम की साक्षी में मेरे पास सैकड़ों पत्र पहुंचे हैं। जब मेरे साथ शिक्रम की सवारी में लुधियाने से जगरावं जा रहे थे तो मार्ग में पानी ले कर शौच के लिए गए। लौटने पर पता लगा कि हाथ पैर धोने और कुल्ला करने के लिए पानी नहीं है। मैं नीचे था और पंडित लेखराम ऊपर की छत पर थे। मार्ग में कुछ पूछने को आवाज़ दी, उत्तर कुछ न मिला। देखा तो आर्य्य पथिक सन्ध्या कर रहे हैं। जब दूसरी चौकी पर शिक्रम पहुंची तो एक भाई ने पूछा —"पंडित जी! क्या पेशावरी सन्ध्या हो चुकी।" पंडित

लेखराम ने गम्भीर स्वर में उत्तर दिया—"तुम पोप हो जो विना पानी मिले ब्रह्मयज्ञ नहीं कर सक्ते । भोले भाई ! स्नान कर्म्म है, हुआ वा न हुआ; परन्तु सन्ध्या धर्म है और उस का न करना पाप है। "

प्रतिज्ञा पालन में ऐसी दृढ़ता का ही परिणाम था कि धर्मवीर लेखराम धर्म में

राज़ीनामा नहीं किया करते थे ।

जहां लेखराम के चरित्र में हम कुछ साधारण निर्वलमाएं पाते हैं, वहां कई प्रकार की दृढ़ताओं को पराकाष्ठा तक पहुंची हुई देखते हैं। आत्म--सम्मान और निर्भयता के लिए मान इन के मन में वर्त्तमान सांसारिक सीमा से भी बढ़ा हुआ था। बच-पन में ही जब मदरसे में प्यास लगी तो मदरसे का घड़ा भ्रष्ट देख कर मौलवी से प्यास बुझाने के लिए घर जाने की आज्ञा मांगी। मौलवी साहेब ने फ़रमाया --" यहीं पीलो, छुट्टी नहीं मिल सक्ती। " हमारे आत्मसंमानी चरित्र नायक ने न तो फिर मौलवी से ही गिड़गिड़ा कर पूछा और नहीं भ्रष्ट घड़े से पानी पिया; सायंकाल तक प्यासे ही बिता दिया।

एक विश्वास पात्र महाशय से पता लगा कि पंड़ित लेखराम मिडिल की परीक्षा में शामिल हुए थे। भारत-वर्ष के इतिहास

सम्बन्धी प्रश्न के उत्तर सरकारी किताबों के अनुसार देने की जगह आप ने उन का खण्डन आरम्भ कर दिया। जहां अन्य विषयों में बहुत ऊंचे अङ्क प्राप्त किए वहां इतिहास में शून्य प्राप्त किया। किन्तु उसी इतिहास में अनुत्तीर्ण लेखराम को पांच वर्षों के पश्चात् पेशावर प्रान्त के हाकिमों ने ज़िले का इतिहास लिखने के लिए ऐतिहासिक मसाला जमा करने के काम पर लगाया था। उन के लिए धर्म्म धर्म्म था और अधर्म्म अधर्म्म। वह नहीं समझ सक्ते थे कि आग और पानी का कैसे मेल हो सक्ता है। यह भाव कभी २ व्यर्थ छिद्रान्वेषण की अवस्था तक पहुंच जाता था और उस से उपदेश के काम को (वाह्य दृष्टि से) हानि भी पहुंच जाती थी, परन्तु लेखराम अपने स्वभाव को इन छोटी हानियों के लिए बदल नहीं सक्ते थे। बहुत से धर्म्मात्माओं की सम्मति है कि अपने मन्तव्यों तथा धर्म के नियमों से न गिर कर भी राज़ीनामा हो सक्ता है, परन्तु यदि यह हट का भाव एक निर्बलता है तो हम उसे लेखराम के आचरण में छिपाना नहीं चाहते।

परन्तु इस निर्बलता का ही परिणाम था कि हम लेखराम में

अभय पद का आदर्श

अवलोकन करते हैं।

आर्य्य पुरुष प्रत्येक यज्ञ की समाप्ति पर प्रार्थना करते हैं—

अभयं नःकरत्यन्तरिक्षम-भयं द्यावापृथिवी उभे इमे । अभयं पश्चादभयं पुरस्तादुत्तरादधरादभयं नो अस्तु ॥ ३४ ॥ अभयं मित्रादभयममित्रादभयं ज्ञातादभयं परोक्षात् । अभयं नक्तमभयं दिवा नः सर्वा आशा मम मित्रं भवन्तु ॥ २५ ॥ अथर्व० का० १९ सू० १५ । मं० ५।६

पंडित लेखराम न केवल इन मन्त्रों का पाठ ही करते थे, वह इन मन्त्रों में बतलाई हुई अवस्था को प्राप्त करने का प्रयत्न भी करते थे। उन के जीवन में ऐसी घटनाएं बहुत सी मिलती हैं जिन का वर्णन कायर हृदयों के अन्दर वीरता का संचार कर देता है।

बन्नू में जब १८९४ में पहुंचे तो सभासद आपस में इस विषय पर कानाफूसी करने लगे कि जाहिल मुसलमानों के बेजा जोश से रक्षा के लिए पुलिस का प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए। पंडित जी ने यह सुन कर मन्त्री को कहा—"अगर मैं मुसलमानों से डरूं तो घर क्यों न बैठ रहूं, प्रचार के लिए बाहर क्यों निकलूं। पुलिस की कुछ ज़रूरत नहीं है।"

मलेरकोटला, जगराउं, शिमला आदि की घटनाएं अभी

सैकड़ों आर्य्यों को नहीं भूली होंगी । धर्म्म-वीर सचमुच अपनी "जान हथेली पर लिए फिरते थे।" इसी लिए तो आर्य्य-जाति के कई भूषणों ने उन का नाम आर्य्य-समाज अली (علی) रक्खा हुआ था; और यह नाम सार्थक भी था क्योंकि मुसलमानों का खण्डन करते करते उन में स्वयम् भी कुछ "जिहादी" भाव प्रवेश कर गए थे।

वेद में लिखा है

ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीत्

मनुष्य सृष्टि में ब्राह्मण शरीर के मुख्य भाग की तुल्य हैं। जैसे मुख में पांचों ज्ञानेन्द्रिय हैं और कर्मेन्द्रिय केवल वाणी है, इसी प्रकार ब्राह्मण का लक्षण यह है कि दिन रात ज्ञान की प्राप्ति में लगा रहे और जैसा ज्ञान प्राप्त हो उस का यथा-वत प्रचार करदे। मुख में जो भोजन डाला जाय उसे पचने के योग्य बना कर मुख शरीर के शेष भाग में बांट देता है; अपने लिए कुछ नहीं रखता। इसी प्रकार ब्राह्मणका धर्म है कि जहां अन्य वर्णों को शुद्ध आजिविका के साधन वतलाए वहां स्वयम् अर्थ सञ्चय में न फंसे। मैं दिखला चुका हूं कि ब्राह्मण के अन्तिम लक्षण का तो पण्डित लेखराम स्वरूप ही थे परन्तु, अन्य लक्षण भी उनमें भली प्रकार घटते हैं। ज्ञान प्राप्ति के लिए उन्हें था

तत्वान्दोलन में अनुराग।

पण्डित लेखराम यद्यपि इङ्गलिश भाषा से सर्वथा शून्य थे और संस्कृत भी साधारण ही जानते थे, तथापि उद्यम शीलता तथा धैर्य्य की सहायता से इन भाषाओं में लिखे हुए ग्रंथों में से भी ऐसी विचित्र (अपने मतलब की) बातें निकाल लाते थे जिन का उन भाषाओं के जानने वालों को स्वप्न भी न होता था। यही कारण था कि आर्य्य-प्रतिनिधि सभा पंजाब तथा सजीव आर्य्य-समाजों के अधिकारियों पर जब कभी वैदिक-धर्म के सिद्धान्तों के विषय में बाहिर से प्रश्न होते तो वे उन प्रश्नों को उत्तर प्राप्त करने के लिए पण्डित लेखराम के पास ही भेजा करते। मुझे इस प्रकार का बहुत सा पत्र व्यवहार मिला है जिस में न केवल महम्मदी तथा ईसाई मत के अनुयाइयों के प्रश्नों के उत्तर के लिए ही पण्डित जी को प्रेरित किया गया है प्रत्युत ऐसे प्रश्न भी उन के पास आन्दोलनार्थ भेजे गए हैं जिनका सम्बन्ध संस्कृत के गूढ़ ग्रन्थों तथा अङ्गरेज़ी के अनात्मवाद (Materialism) के साथ था। ऐसे प्रश्न पत्रों में मुझे दो पत्र बालमुकन्द आर्य्य के, उर्दू भाषा में लिखे हुए, मिले जो उक्त महाशय ने रावलपिंडी से आषाढ़ तथा कार्त्तिक सं० १९४० में आर्य्य प्रतिनिधि सभा पंजाब के नाम भेजे थे। इन पत्रों से विदित होता है कि उन दिनों भी बहुत से आर्य्य-सामाजी बिरादरी के मुक़ाबिले की शक्ति न रखते हुवे ऋषि दयानन्द के ग्रन्थों से ही जन्म को वर्ण व्यवस्था का निर्णायक सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न किया करते थे और ऐसा करने के लिए आज कल के थियासोफ़िस्टों (Theoso-

phists) से भी बढ़कर दयानन्द के शब्दों की खींच तान किया करते थे

अङ्गरेज़ी ग्रन्थों से प्रमाण ढूंढने की इन्होंने विचित्र विधि निकाली। जब किसी ऐसे अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े के यहां जाते जिन्हें ग्रंथावलोकन में अनुराग दिखाई देता तो पण्डित जी का पहिला प्रश्न उस से यह होता—"सुनाइए कोई नई किताब पढ़ी !" यदि उस ने किसी नई किताब का नाम बतलाया तो जब तक उस से उस पुस्तक के सारे विषय न पूछ लें उस की जान न छोड़ते, और जो बात उन्हें अपने मतलब की मालूम होती उसे उसी भद्र पुरुष से अपनी नोट बुक में लिखवा लेते। फिर वह लिखी हुई इबारत दूसरे ग्रेजुएटों (Graduates) से पढ़वा और एक दूसरे के किए अर्थों को आपुस में मिलाकर निश्चय करते कि वह प्रमाण किस काम में आ सकेगा। किन्तु उस पहले नोट की यहीं समाप्ति न होती। जिस जिस नए अंग्रेज़ीदां से मिलते उसी विषय पर उस के विशेष पढ़े पढ़ाये हुए का स्मरण दिलाकर जितने नए प्रमाण उस विषय पर मिलते उन्हें इकट्ठा करते जाते।

इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे एक मनोरञ्जक वृत्तान्त याद आया है जो स्वर्गवासी धर्मात्मा विश्वासी लब्भूराम बी. ए. ने मुझे सुनाया था। "मौतके पश्चात् का दिन" (The day

after death) नामी लोइसफ़िग्योर कृत पुस्तक उन्हीं दिनों अधिक प्रसिद्ध हुई थी और पण्डित जी अपनी "मस्ऽला-ए-तनासुख" (पुनर्जन्म) नामी पुस्तक के लिए नोट तैय्यार कर रहे थे। आपने फ़िग्योर की पुस्तक में से पुनर्जन्म सम्बन्धी एक उदाहरण किसी से नक़ल कराया हुआ था जो लभ्भूराम जी को दिखाया और अर्थ करने को कहा। लभ्भूराम जी ने साफ़ अर्थ कर दिए जिस से पण्डित जी का पूरा मतलब सिद्ध न हुआ; अर्थात् लुइस फ़िग्यूर उच्चयोनि से नीच योनि में गिरना नहीं मानता था। पंडित जी बोले—"भाई, ज़रा संभल के अर्थ करो। यह अर्थ कैसे हो सक्ते हैं। मनुष्य से जहां देव योनि में जाना मानता है तो नीच पशु योनि में जाना भी मानता होगा।" लाला लभ्भूराम ने फिर वही अर्थ किए जिस पर पंडित जी खिसियाने होकर बोले—"ख़ाक अंगरेज़ी पढ़े हो! आप ने बी. ए. की ही मट्टी ख़राब की। यह अर्थ भला कैसे हो सक्ते हैं।" लभ्भूराम जी वक्ता थे रसीले, बोले—"पंडित जी! अर्थ तो वही हैं जो मैंने किए, मगर आपके डन्डे के डर से कहिए आप किसी ही कहदूं।" पंडित जी का गुस्सा हिरन हो गया और मुसकिरा कर बोले—"ईश्वर जानता है! लभ्भूराम जो आप बड़े होनहार हैं। इन योरोपियनों को अभी पूरी समझ नहीं आई। रफ़्तः रफ़्तः (शनैः २) समझ जायंगे।"

इस में सन्देह नहीं कि पंडित लेखराम जिस लक्ष (अर्थात् वैदिक-धर्म के सिद्धान्तों की पुष्टि) को सामने रख कर आन्दोलन किया करते थे वह उन्हें किसी किसी समय अप्रमाणिक

बातों के लिए भी प्रमाणों की कमी नहीं छोड़ता था, परन्तु अपनी पुस्तकों में उन्होंने वही परिणाम लिखे हैं जिन की पुष्टि अकाट्य प्रमाणों से हुई। उदाहरण के लिए एक ही दृष्टान्त लीजिए जो पंडित लेखराम की ऐतिहासिक खोज प्रणाली पर बड़ा प्रकाश डालता है।

पं० लेखराम ने दो भागों में "तारीख़-ए-दुनिया" नाम की एक लघु पुस्तक लिखी थी। उस में विविध सम्वतों का वर्णन करते हुए उन्हों ने आर्य-ग्रन्थों के लिखे जाने के समय भी निश्चित किए हैं। पुस्तक का आधार उन नोटों पर प्रतीत होता है जो उक्त पं० जी की नोट बुक में मुझे मिले हैं। पं० जी की आन्दोलन प्रणाली यह थी कि पहले प्रतिज्ञा रूप से उस सिद्धान्त को लिख लेते थे जो उन्हें सिद्ध करना अभीष्ट होता। फिर जिन जिन के लिए प्रमाणाधार मिलता उसको रख कर शेष को काट देते। उनके नोटों में पहले वेदों के निर्माण का समय १ अरब ९६ करोड़ ८ लाख ५२ हज़ार ९ सौ ८९ वर्ष के देकर, उपनिषदों का समय इस प्रकार लिखा है:—

प्रथम मन्वन्तर—ईशोपनिषद्।
दूसरा मनवन्तर—केन
तीसरा मनवन्तर—कठ, प्रश्न।
चौथा मनवन्तर—मुंडक, माण्डूक्य।
पांचवां मनवन्तर—ऐत्तरेय, तैतिरीय।
छठा मनवन्तर—छान्दोग्य-

सातवां मनन्तर—बृहदारण्यक, तथा मनु-स्मृति का निर्माण समय १, ८०, ००००० वर्ष

ऊपर के लेख के लिए जब कोई आधार न मिला तो ऊपर के पांचों मनवंतरों को लकीर में घेर कर लिख दिया— "छठे मनवंतर की तसनीफ़ात" और शायद जब इस के लिए भी कोई ऐतिहासिक लेख-वद्ध प्रमाण न मिला तो "तारीख़ दुनिया" में उपनिषदों के निर्माण काल पर कोई विस्तृत विचार ही न किया।

पं० लेखराम ने एक स्थान में आर्य्य-वर्त्त सम्बन्धी सर्व इतिहास ग्रन्थों की सूची लिखी थी और मेरे साथ मिल कर वह-अंग्रेज़ी, आर्य्य भाषा, उर्दू—तीनों भाषाओं में एक प्रामाणिक भारतवर्ष का इतिहास तैय्यार कराना चाहते थे।

पं० लेखराम के छोड़े नोट विचित्र "चाउ चाउ का मुरब्बा" है। कहीं तोपों के निर्माण काल का पता लगा कर उस का रामायण के काल से मुक़ाबिला, कहीं "खुदा की हस्ती के सबूत" में नौ प्रबल युक्तियों का खुलासा, कहीं दिल्ली की लाठ के वर्णन से आर्य्यों की शिल्पकारी की प्रशंसा, कहीं कुरान की आयतों की पड़ताल, कहीं समयानुकूल प्रयोग के लिए उद्धृत कविताएं, कहीं फ़ीरोजशाह के अत्याचारों के प्रमाण की फुलझड़ी, कहीं महम्मदियों के ७२ नहीं बल्कि ७८ फ़िरक़ों की सूची कहीं सुक्तपंथ के फ़ार्सी संस्कृत मिश्रित मूल मन्त्र,

कहीं लाला साईं दास, लाला जीवन दास, लाला रघुनाथ साहाय, मुंशी दुर्गा प्रसाद, मुंशी केवल कृष्ण, थम्मनसिंह ठाकुर, लाला मुल्कराज भल्ला, हकीम बहाउद्दीन इत्यादि के बतलाए नुसखें सांप के काटे से लेकर सन्तान उत्पत्ति तक के इलाज के लिए, और कहीं वेद शास्त्रों के प्रमाणों की पत्रिका —कहां तक लिखें, संसार में ऐसा कोई विषय नहीं जिसकी खोज करना लेखराम के कार्य की सीमा से बाहर समझा जा सक्ता।

तारीख़ दुनिया में वर्तमान सृष्टि की आयु (४, ३२, ००, ००, ०००) चार अर्ब बत्तीस करोड़ वर्ष लिखी है। इस के लिए प्रमाण में अथर्ववेद, प्रपाठक ८, अनुवाक १, मन्त्र २१ पं० लेखराम ने पेश किया है:—

शतंतेऽयुतं हायनान्द्वे युगे त्रीणिचत्वार कृणम् ॥

आर्य्य जनता का प्रायः यह निश्चय है कि पं० लेखराम वेद तथा अन्य शास्त्रों के प्रमाण औरों से ढुंढ़वा कर लिखा करते थे। यह बात कैसी निर्मूल है, इस को सिद्ध करने के लिए मैं ऊपर लिखित अथर्ववेद के प्रमाण विषय में श्री पंडित तुलसीराम स्वामी सामवेद भाष्य कार का पत्र देता हूं। उक्त पंडित जी लिखते हैं:—

"सं० ३१०१, ता. २०-८-१६००

श्रीमन्महाशय! नमस्ते-आपके १८-८-१६०० के लेखानु-

सार यद्यपि पं० लेखराम बहुत बार मिले परन्तु केवल एक बार की बात जीवन चरित्र में लिखने योग्य है कि वे अपने विश्वास के ऐसे दृढ़ थे कि सन् ९० (कुम्भ १८९१ के अप्रैल में था) कुम्भ के मेले हरिद्वार पर आवश्यक होने पर मूल-वेद को प्रतिज्ञा के साथ खोजने लगे तो एक अथर्व (वेद) का मंत्र तत्काल कल्प वर्ष संख्या पदक ढूंढ लिया। यद्यपि संस्कृत नहीं जानते थे,(तथापि) वह मंत्र पण्डितों से पूछा तो उसी तात्पर्य्य का निकला।" उपनिषदों को वेद-मूलक ही सिद्ध करने के लिए उन्हों ने बड़ा प्रयत्न किया था और उपनिषदों में जो मूल-वेद का भाग है उसे मोटे अक्षरों में छपवा कर यह दिखलाने का विचार था कि जैसे उपनिषद् वाक्यों को हटा लेने से गीता का कुछ नहीं बचता वैसे ही वेद मंत्रों की प्रतीकें अलग करने से उपनिषद समझ में नहीं आ सक्ते।

कहां तक लिखा जाय, सच्चे ब्राह्मण का यह लक्षण पंडित लेखराम में कूट कूट कर भरा हुआ था। दूसरा लक्षण ब्राह्मण का यह है कि जिस धर्म का निर्णय स्वयम् किया हो उस को संसार में निष्कपट हो कर फैलावे। इसी लिए आर्य्य-पथिक

आदर्श धर्म प्रचारक थे।

मौखिक प्रचार में उन की धूम मची हुई थी। आर्य्य-समाज में उन धर्म-प्रचारकों की संख्या उङ्गलियों पर गिनी जा सक्ती है जो लेखराम के समीप इस अंश में पहुंच सकें। गृहस्थ

होते हुए भी सन्यास की तितिक्षा तथा धारणा हम उन के आचरण में देखते हैं । विरोधी लोग प्रसिद्ध करते हैं कि पंडित लेखराम बदज़बान था । यद्यपि वह खण्डन सर्व मतों का एक सा करते थे, परन्तु हिन्दुओं, जैनियों, सिक्खों ने उन की कभी शिकायत नहीं की । इस का कारण तो यह हो सक्ता है कि यद्यपि इन मतों के संशोधन के लिए इनमतावलम्बियों को हिलाते थे तथापि आर्य्य-जाति के विरोधियों के आक्रमणों से इन को भी बचाने का ठेका लेखराम ने ही लें रक्खा था । एक बार मैं और पंडित लेखराम इकट्ठे दिल्ली से लौट रहे थे कि मार्ग में सनातन धर्म-सभा के पंडित दीनदयालु जी मिल गए । बात चीत आरम्भ होने पर पंडित लेखराम ने कहा— " आप हमें कोसने के लिए तो बड़े बहादुर हो लेकिन इसलाम आप के धर्म की जड़ें खोद रहा है और आप चुप बैठे हो" पंडित दीनदयालु जी ने उत्तर दिया—" यह काम तो हम सब ने आप के सपुर्द कर छोड़ा है; जब तक आर्य्य-मुसाफ़िर जीवित हैं तब तक हमारे धर्म की जड़ें कौन खोद सक्ता है । "

तब यह तो ठीक है कि हिन्दू, जैन, सिक्खादि तो उन्हें अपना समझ कर उन के कटु वचनों का सहन कर लेते थे, परन्तु यदि वह कटु भाषी होते तो मुसलमान जनता भी क्यों उन के व्याख्यानों पर मोहित होती । असल बात यह थी कि महम्मदी मौलवियों ने उन के पते की कहने और लिखने पर, उत्तर देने की शक्ति न रखते हुए, उन्हें " बदज़बान " प्रसिद्ध कर रक्खा था । परन्तु जब ऐसी बहकाई हुई भी मुसलमान

जनता लेखराम से प्रत्यक्ष परिचय करती तो उन पर आर्य्य-पथिक का प्रभाव पड़े विना नहीं रहता ।

जहां दूसरे वक्ताओं के एक घन्टे के व्याख्यान के पश्चात् श्रोता घबरा जाते हैं वहां तीन घन्टों तक आर्य्य-पथिक की वक्ता सुनने के पश्चात् भी फिर एक घन्टा बैठने को तय्यार रहते थे । इस का कारण उन का विस्तृत ऐतिहासिक ज्ञान तो था ही परन्तु उन की वाणी मैं हास्य रस और हाज़िर जवाबी ऐसी मनोहर थी कि सुनने वाला कभी उकृता नहीं सक्ता था ।

हाज़िर जवाबी में कमाल ।

जो पुरुष किसी बड़े काम में कृतकार्य होना चाहें उन के लिए " हाज़िर जवाबी " एक अपूर्व सम्मिलित अस्त्र शस्त्र है । जिस बात को दलील से काटने में घन्टों का नाश हो उस बात का "हाज़िर जवाबी " मिनटों में सफ़ाया बोल देतीं है ।

लेखराम बचपन से ही हाज़िर जवाबी के लिए प्रसिद्ध थे । मदरसे में पहले साल ही परीक्षक इन की हाज़िर जवाबी से प्रसन्न हुए थे । इन के पहले उस्ताद तुलसीराम जी इसी हाजि़र जवाबी से तङ्ग थे, जिस के कारण इन की अक़्ल (बुद्धी) की शिकायत किया करते । इस कहानी में भी कई स्थानों पर मैंने उन की हाजि़र जवाबी के नमूने दिए हैं । परन्तु उनकी हाजि़र जवाबी को पढ़कर ऐसा आनन्द आता है और हमारे चरित्र नायक के इतने गुणों का पता लगता है कि

उन में से कुछ और का उल्लेख करना मनोरञ्जक ही न होगा प्रत्युत शिक्षा दायक भी सिद्ध होगा।

हरद्वार में सम्वत् १९४८ के कुम्भ पर स्वामी आत्मानन्द जी ने संयुक्त प्रान्त के छूत छात वाले उपदेशकों का चौका स्थिर रखने के लिए यह प्रबन्ध किया कि पंजाबियों से पहले वह चौके में भोजन कर लिया करें। पंडित लेखराम उन से भी पहले भोजन के लिए जा बैठे। तब पंजाबियों का अपवित्र किया हुआ चौका फिर से लगाया गया। दूसरे दिन भी पंडित लेखराम पाचक (रसोइए) के साथ वाली क्यारी में जा बैठे, परन्तु जब रोटी को बिना अधिक सेंके उस ने चूल्हे में से खींचा तो आप ने उस की पीठ पर हाथ ठोंका और उस के हाथ से चिमटा लेकर उसे रोटी सेंकना बताने लगे। अब तो संयुक्तप्रान्तीय दल में खलबली मच गई, परन्तु कुछ संयुक्त प्रान्ती उसी समय आर्य्य-पथिक के चेले बन गए और सखरी नखरी के भेद भाव को उड़ा दिया।

दिल्ली के जलसे पर एक आदमी केशर का चन्दन सब भाइयों के माथे पर लगाता आता था। जब आर्य्य-पथिक के समीप आया तो उन्हों ने डांट कर कहा—"मेरे सिर में दर्द नहीं है।" उत्तर मिला—"महाराज! सुगन्धि के लिए लगाते हैं।" आर्य्य-पथिक ने दाहिने हाथ का पृष्ठ भाग सामने कर के कहा—"तो यहां लगाओ" और जब वहां चन्दन लगाया गया तो नाक के पास लेजा कर सूंघने लगे; जिस पर सब उपस्थित सज्जन मुसकिरा दिए

एक आर्य्य सज्जन ने भोजन के पश्चात् सब आर्य्य भाइयों को ताम्बूल (पान) बांटे। जब आर्य्य-पथिक के सामने पानदान पेश किया तो बोले—"देखते नहीं हो मैं मनुष्य हूं, बकरा नहीं हूं कि पत्ते खाऊं।" गुजरात आर्य्य समाज में आर्य्य-पथिक का व्याख्यान हो रहा था। मुसलमानों के "हराम, हलाल" के मसऽले पर बोल रहे थे। समाप्ति पर प्रश्नोत्तर का समय दिया गया। दो मौलवियों को तो योंही झिंझोड़ दिया, परन्तु अन्त में मौलवी बाक़रहुसैन उठे जिन की ऋषि दयानन्द के साथ भी पुनर्जन्म पर बात चीत हो चुकी थी। मौलवी साहेब ने कहा—"पण्डत साहब! आप ने जो हमारे हराम हलाल के मसले पर एतराज़ (आक्षेप) किए हैं; क्या आप ने यह भी सोचा है कि हमारे मज़हब में चुहिया हराम है। क्या वह भी इसी लिए हराम क़रार दी गई कि ज़बरदस्त थी?" आर्य्य-पथिक ने पूछा कि मौलवी साहेब सुन्नी हैं वा शिया। यह उत्तर पाने पर कि मौलवी साहेब शिया हैं पंडित लेखराम ने उत्तर दिया—"मौलवी साहब! मुझे आप का कथन सुन कर हंसी आती है। आप शिया हो कर चूहे की बुज़ुर्गी और ज़बरदस्ती से इनकार करते हैं। यही नामुराद चूहा था जिस ने मैदान कर्बला में सब पानी कीमशकें काट दीं, और बेचारे इमामहुसैन को प्यासा मरवाया। अगर ऐसे दो तीन और ज़बरदस्त पैदा हो जायं तो अरब और ईरान में कई कर्बला की सी घटनाएं होजायं।" श्रोतागण खिलखिला कर हंस पड़े और मौलवी साहेब चुप हो गए।

पण्डित लेखराम जैसे वक्ता श्रेष्ठ थे वैसे ही लेखक भी अद्वितीय थे।

लेखनी का प्रवाह ।

धर्म-वीर आर्य्य-पथिक ने अपने नाम को सार्थक करने के लिए विचित्र लेखनी चलाई। लेखराम सच मुच लेख की लहर चला देता था। सम्वत् १६४१ में लेखराम ने दासत्व से मुक्ति लाभ की। सम्वत् १६५३ के अन्त में उन का देहान्त हुआ। १२ वर्षों में उन्हों ने जहां लाखों नर नारी तक वैदिक धर्म का सन्देशा पहुंचाया, और सैकड़ों छोटे बड़े लेख लिख कर आर्य्य गज़ट फ़ीरोज़पुर, सद्धर्म्मप्रचारक तथा अन्य समाचार पत्रों में छपवाए, सैकड़ों शास्त्रार्थ किए और सहस्रों को धर्म से पतित होते २ बचाया, वहां ३३ छोटी बड़ी पुस्तकें तय्यार कीं जिन के छपे हुए, सत्यार्थ-प्रकाश के परिमाण के, पृष्ठ २६०० से कम न होंगे और इस के साथ ही ऋषि दयानन्द के जीवन चरित्र के लिए न केवल ८७६ बड़े पृष्ठों के लिए लेख तय्यार कर के ही छोड़ गए प्रत्युत पुस्तक की पूर्त्ति के लिए भी इतने नोटों का कोष जमा कर दिया कि उन सब से पूरा काम लेना भी कठिन हो गया।

एक विशेष कापी मिली है जिस काशीर्षक है—"आर्य्य-समाज की बीस साला रिपोर्ट।" इस के अन्दर १४ बड़े२ विषयों की सूची है जिस से ज्ञात होता है कि जो कार्य्य "आर्य्य डइरेक्टरी" का आज कुछ २ होने लगा है उस को आर्य्य-पथिक वर्षों पहले पूर्ण रीति से करने का विचार कर रहे थे।

भविष्य पुराण की पड़ताल मैंने उन्हीं की प्रेरणा पर आरम्भ की थी और विचार यह था कि हम दोनों १८ पुराणों तथा १८ ही उप पुराणों की पड़ताल का परिणाम जन साधारण के आगे रक्खेंगे। ऋषि जीवन का चरित्र छपवाने के पश्चात् उनका विचार अरबादी देशों में प्रचार के लिए जाने का था। इसके लिए उन्होंने आर्य्य-समाज के दस नियमों का भाष्य अरबी में लिख लिया था जो मेरे पास मौजूद है और १६ लघु पुस्तकों की सूची भी बना ली थी जिन्हें अरबी में छपवा कर वह साथ ले जाना चाहते थे। यह लेखनी का प्रवाह बड़ा ही प्रबल है। परन्तु कहा यह जाता है कि धर्म-वीर पण्डित लेखराम की "तहरीर सख़्त" थी। यदि इस का मतलब यह है कि उनकी लेखनी ओजस्विनी और बलवती थी तो मुझे भी मानने में कोई सङ्कोच नहीं, क्योंकि जिस लेख का आधार सचाई पर हो और जो केवल अपने मन्तव्यों की रक्षार्थ लिखे गए हों उन का शक्ति शाली होना आवश्यक ही है। परन्तु यदि आक्षेपकों की यह प्रतिज्ञा है कि पं० लेखराम की लेख शैली महम्मदी तथा अन्य आर्य्य-समाज के आक्षेपकों की न्याईं अश्लील और असभ्य होती थी तो यह कहने में कोई सङ्कोच नही कि ऐसी प्रतिज्ञा निर्मूल और झूठी है। मेरी तो यहां तक प्रतिज्ञा है कि प० लेखराम अपने लेखों में कभी मर्यादा का भी उलंघन नहीं करते थे; तभी तो जब जब न्यायालयों में उन की पुस्तकें पेश हुईं तब तब ही

उनके विरोधियों को पराजित होना पड़ा। महम्मदी मौल-बियों को उन्हों ने युक्ति, प्रमाण तथा सत्यान्दोलन से ऐसा परास्त कर दिया था कि उन्होंने अमली तौर पर अपनी हार मान ली और जिस लेखनी को उन की सम्मिलित शक्ति जवाबी लेखों तथा न्यायालयों की सहायता से भी बन्द न करा सकी उसे कायर छुरी के द्वारा बन्द करा दिया।

महम्मदियों के आरम्भिक

आक्रमण

(१) सब से पहले १८८७ई०में अमृतसर में "तकज़ीब" और "नुसखा" के छपने पर मुसलमानों ने बड़ी हल चल मचाई परन्तु वकीलों ने नालिश की सम्मति न दी।

(२) सबसे पहला वास्तविक आक्रमण मिर्ज़ापुर के मुसलमानों ने किया। शुक्रुल्ला नामी व्यक्ति की ओर से "तकज़ीब बुराहीन अहमदिया" तथा "नुसखा ख़ब्त अहमदिया" को मुसलमानों का दिल दुखाने वाली किताबे क़रार देकर मजिस्ट्रेट जिला के यहां अर्ज़ी दी। यह अभियोग बिना पं० लेखराम को बुलाए ख़ारिज़ होगया।

(३) प्रयाग में भी ऐसी नालिश हुई जो बिना अभियुक्त पुरुषों को बुलाए ख़ारिज़ हुई।

(४) फिर लाहौर के मुसलमानों ने सं० १८९३ ई० के आरम्भ में "जिहाद" तथा अन्य पुस्तकों को लेकर, जो अरोड़वंश प्रेस में छपी थीं, और उन में अश्लील लेख बतला कर, नालिश की। इस मुकद्दमे में लाला लाजपतराय जी ने बड़ी पैरवी की और मुक़द्दमा ख़ारिज हुआ।

(५) फिर मेरठ के मौलवियों ने भी बड़े जलसे किए

और महम्मदी जगत को भड़काया, परन्तु वहां भी नालिश करने की सम्मति वकीलोंने न दी।

(६) दिल्ली में नालिश की गई। यह नालिश २८ अगस्त १८६६ को कप्तान डेविससाहब डिपुटी कमिश्नर देहली की अदालत में पेश हुई। डेविस साहब ने वे सब पुस्तकें मंगाकर सुनीं जिनके उत्तर में पं० लेखराम ने पुस्तकें लिखी थीं और बिना ग्रन्थ कर्ता तथा छापने वाले को बुलाए नालिश ख़ारिज कर दी।

तब मुसलमानों के बड़े पुर जोश जलसे हुए, बहुत सा धन एकत्र हुआ और कप्तान डेविस साहेब के हुकुम की निगरानी की गई। वह निगरानी फिर १० सितम्बर १८६६ को ख़ारिज हुई। इस अन्तिम फ़ैसले में साहब मजिस्ट्रेट ने लिखा—"यह मुक़द्दमा मज़हबी बुनियाद पर उठाया गया है। सारे शहर में जलसे किए गए और सब प्रान्तों से मुसलमान बुलाए गए हैं जिस से आज न्यायालय में जमा हो कर अपनी सहानुभूति प्रकट करें। ....

"इस स्थान में यह बतलाना आवश्यक है कि पण्डित लेखराम आर्य्य अग्रणिओं में से एक हैं ....अब इस प्रश्न के विषय में कि क्या यह पुस्तक अश्लील है वा नहीं, मैंने वे सब विशेष २ वाक्य अवलोकन किए जिन्हें अश्लील बतलाया जाता है। यह बात विचारणीय है कि इन में बहुत

अधिक तो ऐसे वाक्य हैं जो कि अश्लील कहे ही नहीं जा सक्ते । दूसरों में प्रश्न यह है कि शब्दों का किस प्रकार से प्रयोग हुआ है ....मेरी सम्मति में पुस्तक के शब्द इन (अश्लील वा असभ्य) अर्थों में नहीं लिए जा सक्ते........मैं निश्चय करता हूं कि कोई भी जुर्म (अपराध) लेखराम ....के विरुद्ध प्रकट नहीं किया गया और इस लिए अभियोग को "ज़ाबिता फ़ौजदारी" की धारा २०३ के अनुसार ख़ारिज करता हूं"

(७) दिल्ली से निराश हो कर मुसलमानों ने मुम्बई में बड़ी हल चल मचाई और दिसम्बर, १८९६ में वहां नया अभियोग चलाया । जब वह अभियोग भी बिना पण्डित लेखराम को-बुलाए ख़ारिज हो गया तब—

(८) पेशावर में धर्म वीर लेखराम रूपी ज्वलन्त शक्ति को, जो इन अदूर दर्शी दृष्टियों में इसलाम की जड़ों को खोखला कर रही थी, सदा के लिए शान्त कर ने का यत्न सोचा गया । पेशावर में दिल्ली का मुक़दमा ख़ारिज होते ही आग भड़की थी यद्यपि पहले नालिश का ही विचार था । परन्तु जब मुम्बई के अभियोग की भी समाप्ति का समाचार आया तो फिर पेशावर, मुम्बई, अमृतसर, पटना इत्यादि सब नगरों से यह समाचार आने लगे कि मुसलमान पण्डित लेखराम को मरवा देने के मन्सूबे बांध रहे हैं ।

आर्य्य भाइयों ने विविध स्थानों से सचेत करने के लिए

लाहौर आर्य्य-समाज को पत्र भेजे परन्तु, लेखराम की रक्षा कौन कर सक्ता था। धर्म बीर ने डर का शब्द ही अपने कोष से निकाल छोड़ा था, वे मनुष्यों की धमकियों की क्या परवा करते थे।

अन्तिम जवनिका;

धर्म पर बलिदान ।

.फ़ेब्रवरी, १८९७ के मध्य भाग में एक काला, गंठे हुए बदन का भयानक, नाटा युवक दयानन्द कालिज में पण्डित लेखराम को पूछता गया; वहाँ से पता लेकर वह पण्डित लेखराम के निवास स्थान पर पहुंचा और पंडित जी से निवेदन किया कि वह असल में हिन्दू था, दो वर्षों से मुसलमान हो गया है और अब शुद्धी के लिए आर्य्य-पथिक की शरण में आगया है। पण्डित लेखराम ने प्रतिज्ञा की कि वह उस पतित को शुद्ध कर लेंगे।

पण्डित लेखराम को कई स्थानों के आर्य्य-भाइ सचेत कर चुके थे कि महम्मदी लोग उन के मरवा डालने की फ़िक्र में लगे हुए हैं, परन्तु ऐसी चेतावनियों का पण्डित लेखराम पर उलटा असर हुआ करता था; उन्हों ने इस अनजाने व्यक्ति के विषय में पता भी न लगाया कि वह कौन और कहां से आया है, और न उसी से कुछ पूछा। कुछ आर्य्य भाइयों ने पता लगाना चाहा जिन से उस ने अपने आप को बङ्गाली बतलाया, परन्तु प्रत्येक ८ शब्दों में से केवल दो बङ्गाली शब्द समझ सक्ता था। जिस ने उस की शकल देखी बिना सोचे कह दिया कि वह बूचड़ है। अनुमान होता था कि वह पटना प्रान्त का रहने वाला है।

यह पटनवी बूचड़ छायावत् पंडित लेखराम के साथ फिरता रहा। दो तीन वार पं० जी के घर में रोटी खाता भी देखा गया। दिन को वह पं० जी के साथ रहता था, परन्तु यह किसी को पता न था कि रात कहां काटता है। धर्म-वीर के बलिदान के पश्चात् पुलिस के आन्दोलन के समय पता लगा था कि वह रात को उस स्थान में सोता था जहां कि लेखराम के बध के मन्सूबे गांठे जाते थे।

१ मार्च को पं० लेखराम सभा की आज्ञानुसार मुलतान पहुंचे जहां ४ मार्च तक ४ व्याख्यान दिए। सभा ने सक्खर जाने के लिए तार भेजा परन्तु प्लेग के कारण मुलतान समाज के सभासदों को वहां जाने से रोक लिया; उन को क्या मालूम था कि वे सन्दिग्ध कष्ट से बचा कर अपने वीर धर्मोपदेशक को सीधा मौत के मुंद में भेज रहे हैं। फिर पण्डित लेखराम मुज़फ्फरगढ़ के लिए तय्यार हुए, परन्तु न जाने क्यों फिर सीधे लाहौर को लौट पड़े जहां वह ६ मार्च की दोपहर को पहुंच गए।

५ मार्च को ईद का दिन था। इस से बढ़कर, महम्मदी मत की जड़ खोखली करने वाले को, वध करने का श्रेष्ठ दिन कब मिल सक्ता था। उस दिन बूचड़ घातक ने आर्य्य-पथिक के निवास-स्थान, आर्य्य-प्रतिनिधि सभा के कार्यालय तथा रेलवे स्टेशन पर १८ वा १९ चक्कर काटे। ६ मार्च के प्रातः फिर पण्डित जी के घर पहुंचा, वह अभी

लौटे न थे; फिर सभा के कार्यालय में गया परन्तु वहां से भी निराश लौटा।

२ बजे पंडित लेखराम के साथ सभा के कार्यालय में फिर पहुंचा। गली की ओर मुंह करके खिड़की में बैठ गया। उस दिन थूकता बहुत था। सभा के मुनीम ने कहा-"पंडित जी! यह स्थान ख़राब करता है।" भोले आर्य्य-पथिक बोले—"भाई! बैठा रहने दो; तुम्हारा क्या लेता है।"

उस दिन नियम विरुद्ध सारा शरीर कम्बल से ढके हुए था। सभा से चलते समय कांपा। पंडित जी ने पूछा कि ज्वर तो नहीं है। धीरे से बोला—"हां और कुछ दर्द भी है।" पंडित लेखराम उसको इलाज के लिए डाक्टर बिष्णुदास के पास ले गए। नाड़ी देखकर डाक्टर ने कहा—"बुख़ार बुख़ार तो मालूम नहीं होता, इसका खून जोश में है और थकान मालूम होती है, यदि दर्द है तो ब्लिस्टर लगा दिया जावे।" घातक ने कहा कि लगाने की नहीं, कोई पीने की दवाई दीजिए। यदि उस समय कम्बल उतार, उसके दवाई लगवाने का विचार होता तो कमर में लगी छुरी पकड़ी जाती। परन्तु आर्य्य-पथिक तो स्वयम् बलिदान की तय्यारी कर रहे थे, सिफ़ारिश की कि पीने की दवाई ही दी जावे। डाक्टर ने कहा कोई शरबत पी लेवे। न जाने कहां से शरबत पिलवा कर बज़ाज़ की दूकान पर गए और इसी घातक के हाथ एक थान माता जी को दिखाने भेजा। बज़ाज़ ने घातक के चले

जाने पर कहा—"पं०जी ! क्या भयानक आदमी साथ लिए फिरते हो ।" धर्म वीर, शुद्धि की धुन में मस्त, उत्तर देते हैं—"भाई ! ऐसा मत कहो; यह धर्मात्मा आदमी है, शुद्ध होने आया है ।" घर जाकर पंडित जी जिस खुले बरामदे में काम करते थे वहां चारपाई पर बैठकर जीवन चरित्र सम्बन्धी काम करने लग गए । उनकी बाईं ओर कुर्सी पर घातक बैठ गया। ६ बजे लाला जीवनदास और लाला केदारनाथ जी आए और अगले रविवार के लिए व्याख्यान की प्रतिज्ञा करा के चले गए । घातक बैठा रहा । माता जी रसोई में थीं, धर्म-पत्नी जी दूसरे कमरे में अलग पढ़ रही थीं। तब पंडित लेखराम ने घातक को कहा:—"अब देर हो गई है, भाई ! तुम भी आराम करो ।" घातक न हिला। दस मिनटों के पीछे माता जी ने चौके से कहा—"पुत्र लेखराम, तेल नहीं आया ।" पण्डित लेखराम उस समय ऋषि दयानन्द की मृत्यु का अन्तिम दृश्य खींच रहे थे; पत्रे वहीं रख दिए और चारपाई पर से उस ओर उतर कर जिधर घातक बैठा था, अपने अभ्यासानुसार आंखें बन्द कर और दोनों बाहें ऊपर उठा के ज़ोर से अङ्गड़ाई लेते हुए कहा—"ओफ़् फ़ोह ! भूल गया ।"

इस समय आर्य्य-पथिक ऐसे सीना तान के खड़े हुए कि जिस समय की घात में दुष्ट घातक प्रतीक्षा कर रहा था, वह आन पहुंचा । एक दम से अभ्यस्थ हाथ ने छुरी पेट के अन्दर घुसेड़ कर इस प्रकार घुमा दी कि आठ, दस घाव अन्दर

आए और आंतड़ियां बाहर निकल पड़ीं।

परन्तु क्या आर्य्य-पथिक इस निष्ठुर, पिशाचत्व के आक्रमण से विवश होकर गिर पड़े और अपनी चिल्लाहट से महल्ले को जगा दिया? वहां न कोई हृदय बेधक आर्तनाद ही सुनाई दिया और न कोई चिल्लाहट की आवाज़ माता और धर्म-पत्नी ने सुनी। यदि धर्म वीर में यह निर्बलता होती तो लोग दौड़ पड़ते और घातक उसी समय पकड़ा जाता। परन्तु वहां पतितों पर दया का भाव अभीतक स्थिर था जिस ने घातक को स्पष्ट बचा दिया।

अन्तड़ियों का बाहर निकलना था कि बांए हाथ से बाहर निकली हुई अन्तड़ियों को संभाल दाहने हाथ को घातक के हाथ पर डाल दिया। साधारण पुरुष अपने रक्त के दर्शन मात्र से होश गंवा बैठता है, परन्तु वीर लेखराम सिंह पुरुष था। सिंह के अन्दर चाहे रक्त की नदी बह जाय परन्तु उस की सावधानता में भेद नहीं आता। पहली झपट में लड़ते भिड़ते सिढ़ी के पास जा पहुंचे और घातक के हाथ से छुरी छीन ली। घातक के दो हाथ और धर्म-वीर का केवल एक, और फिर रक्त की धारा बह रही; संभव था कि घातक फिर छुरी छीन ले कि लक्ष्मी देवी ने, झूठी लोक लज्जा को परे फेंक कर, हाथ जा मारा और छुरी धर्म-वीर के हाथ में रह गई। लक्ष्मी देवी ने इस डर से कि कहीं घातक फिर आक्रमण न करे धर्म-वीर को रसोई की ओर खींचा। परन्तु घातक के दुष्ट हृदय को इस पर भी सन्तोष

न हुआ और वह खूनी आंखों से डराता हुआ फिर पीछे दौ-ड़ने लगा, कि माता जी ने दोनों हाथों से उसे पकड़ लिया। इस समय घातक भी हांपने लग गया था और उसने पास पड़ा एक बेलना झपट कर उठा माता जी के दो तीन चोटें लगाईं। वह अचेत होकर भूमी पर गिर पड़ीं और घातक सिढ़ियों से उतर कर न जाने कहां लुप्त हो गया।

कुछ पलों के पश्चात् लाला जीवनदास जी बाहर से लोटे तो बड़ा हृदय विदारक दृश्य देखा। चारपाई पर धर्म-वीर सीधे लेटे हुए हैं; अन्तड़ियां एक हाथ से दबाए हुए हैं और रक्त का श्रोत बह रहा है। वृद्ध जीवनदास जी घबरा गए। फिर और लोग आगए। परन्तु आर्य्य सिंह के मुख पर कोई मलीनता न थी; पूछने पर उसी सरल परन्तु वीरता-पूर्ण-वाणी से उत्तर दिया—"वही दुष्ट, जो शुद्ध होने आया था, मार गया।" फिर बोले—"डाक्टर को बुलाओ, शीघ्र बुलाओ।" चारों ओर समाचार फैल गया, डाक्टर तथा डाक्टरी के विद्यार्थी जमा हो गए। चारपाई पर धर्म-वीर को लिटा कर हस्पताल की ओर ले चले। मैं उस दिन अकस्मात ४ बजे शाम की गाड़ी में लाहौर पहुंचा था, समाचार पाते ही धर्म-वीर के निवास-स्थान की ओर चल दिया। आगे गली के मुहाने पर "शहीद की सवारी" आती हुई मिली और मैं क्लेजा थाम के साथ हो लिया।

हस्पताल पहुंचते ही आर्य्य वीर को मेज़ पर लिटाया गया। दुखित मन को संभाल कर मैं आगे बढ़ा। उस समय

अन्तड़ियां हाउससर्जन के हाथ में थीं। मुझे देखते ही दोनों हाथ, जो सिर के नीचे थे, उठा लिए और हाथ जोड़े। मेरी अश्रुधारा निकलने को ही थी कि प्यारे लेखराम ने अपनी साधारण वीर-वाणी से कहा—"नमस्ते लाला जी, आप भी आगए।" इस साधारण दृश्य ने मेरा दिल दहला दिया। अन्तड़ियों की ओर देखकर विश्वास नहीं आता था कि मैं अपने प्यारे मित्र लेखराम से बात कर रहा हूं। ऐसा प्रतीत होता था कि मानों शिमले के वार्षिकोत्सव से लौट कर मुझे नमस्ते कर रहे हैं फिर बोले—"लाला जी बेअदबियां माफ़ करना" मैंने बल पूर्वक रोने धोने को रोक कर कहा—"पण्डित जी! आप तो परमात्मा पर पक्का विश्वास रखने वाले हैं, प्रत्येक शङ्कट में उसी का आश्रय ढूंढा करते है; उस का ध्यान कीजिए।" वह वीर-वाणी उत्तर देती है—"अच्छा तो शायद मैं अच्छा हो जाऊंगा, परन्तु लाला जी! मेरे अपराध क्षमा करना।" यह कहा और वेदमन्त्र का पाठ करने लगे।

"ओ३म्। विश्वानिदेव सवितर्दुरितानि परासुव। यद्भद्रंन्तन्नआसुव।"

मरते दम तक इस मन्त्र तथा गायत्री मन्त्र का जप करते रहे। बीच बीच में "परमेश्वर तुम महान हो, परमपिता इत्यादि" शब्द बोलते रहे।

छुरी लगने से पूरे पौने दो घन्टों के पश्चात् डाक्टर पेरी

साहेब आए। फिर बराबर दो घन्टों तक डाक्टर महोदय कटी हुई आंतों को सीते रहे। एक स्थान की आंत कट कर दो टुकड़े हो गई थी, आठ बड़े घाव और बहुत से छोटे घाव भी थे। डाक्टर पेरी हैरान थे कि दो घन्टों तक जिस के अन्दर से रक्त खुला बहता रहा हो वह कैसे जीवित रह सक्ता है, इस लिए उन्होंने कहा कि साधारण अवस्था में तो ऐसे घाव लगने पर कोई मनुष्य बच नहीं सक्ता, परन्तु जिस की अब तक यह चेतना शक्ति है वह शायद बच जावे। यदि यह बच गया तो Miracle (चमत्कार) ही समझना चाहिए।

१½ बजे रात तक बराबर सचेत थे। केवल परमेश्वर के नाम का जप था; न घर वालों की चिन्ता और न घातक पर अप्रसन्नता और न मौत का डर। यदि चिन्ता थी तो आर्य समाज की, और यदि ध्यान था तो उस महा-यज्ञ की ओर जो ऋषि दयानन्द रच गए थे। धर्मवीर ने न तो माता और धर्म पत्नी की चिन्ता की क्योंकि उन को विश्वास था कि परमेश्वर उन का सहायक है और नहीं घातक का पता लगाने को कहा क्योंकि जिस वैदिक धर्म के वह सच्चे सेवक थे वह बदला लेने की शिक्षा नहीं देता। अन्तिम आदेश अपने सहधर्मियों को यह दिया कि—

"आर्य समाज से लेख का काम बन्द नहीं होना चाहिए"

दो बजे के समीप धर्म वीर का तौर बदल गया। दो बार

ज़ोर से हाथ हिलाए और ५ मिनटों में हाथ सीधे कर के सदा की नींद सो गए।

पौ फटते ही धर्मवीर की मौत का समाचार विद्युतवत् सारे लाहौर नगर में फैल गया। क्या हिन्दू, क्या जैनी, क्या ब्राह्मो, क्या सिक्ख सब दुःखी प्रतीत होते थे। अपने प्यारे से प्यारे बच्चे की मौत पर इतना कष्ट न हुआ होगा जो इस समय आर्य सन्तान मात्र को लेखराम के वध का समाचार सुन कर हुआ। सब ने छोटे छोटे विरोधों को भुला दिया। दस बजे के अनुमान धर्मवीर के मृतक शरीर वाले कमरे के सामने का मैदान आर्य सन्तान से भर गया। वे लोग, जिन्होंने आर्य मन्दिर में कभी पैर भी नहीं रक्खा था, इस जन समूह में दिखाई देने लगे। सिव्ल-सर्जन ने बड़ी सहानुभूति की दृष्टि से किसी मुसलमान को मृतक शरीर के पास फड़कने न दिया और दस मिनिट में दो घन्टों का काम करके लेखराम का जो कुछ बचा था हम लोगों के हवाले कर के चल दिए।

अन्दर जाकर देखा तो आर्य-पथिक को सदा का यात्री पाया, परन्तु फिर भी स्थिर विछोड़े का निश्चय न हुआ। आंखें मुंदी हुईं परन्तु मुख में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं; मानो लेटे हुए सन्ध्या कर रहे हैं। वही हृष्ट पुष्ट शरीर, वही विशाल छाती; कुछ भी भेद न था। अश्रुधारा बहाते हुए सब भाइयों ने प्रेम पूर्वक वस्त्र पहिनाए। बाहर अर्थी लाते ही सारा शरीर श्वेत पुष्पावली से ढांपा गया। कैमरा (Camera) तय्यार था,

मुंह खोल कर अन्तिम चित्र लिया गया। इस समय दो सहस्र पुरुष अन्तिम दर्शन के लिए खड़े थे।

अर्थी उठाई गई और शहीद की सवारी सीधी अनारकली में पहुंची। थोड़ी ही देर में २० सहस्र का तांता साथ था। यहां माता भी आ पहुंची जिस का विलाप सुन कर २० सहस्र आंखों से नदिएं बहने लगीं। एक युवक अचेत हो कर गिर पड़ा।

अर्थी ने शहर में प्रवेश किया। प्रत्येक स्थान में आर्य-जाति की देवियों के नीचे छतें फटी पड़ती थीं। प्रत्येक देवी को ऐसा दुःख था जैसा उन का कोई प्यारा बच्चा सदा के लिए जुदा हो गया हो। वे लोग जो कभी अपनी दुकान से हिल कर किसी सभा सुसाइटी में नहीं गए, गुलाब जल के कन्टर अर्थी पर बहा रहे थे। किसी किसी स्थान पर तीस २ हज़ार की भीड़ हो जाती थी। फूल बेचने वालों ने मुंह मांगे दाम लिए, भूमी पुष्प वर्षा से रंगी पड़ी थी। अन्त को सवारी नगर से बाहर निकली और वेद मन्त्रों का उच्चारण करते तथा वैराग के भजन गाते सात सहस्र से अधिक भाई श्मसान भूमी तक पहुंचे। ज्ञात होता था कि चिरकाल से सोई हुई आर्य जाति जाग उठी है और धर्म पर सर्वस्व न्यौछावर करने वालों का सत्कार करना सीखने लगी है।

श्मसान में अर्थी को रक्खा गया और फिर अन्तिम दर्शन की अभिलाषी हुई। पढ़े लिखे और अनपढ़, राव और रङ्क, सबने दर्शन किए। एक भक्ति-रस से भरा भजन गाया गया और उपस्थित सज्जनों की शान्ति के लिए ईश्वर प्रार्थना हुई। मृतक शरीर का वेद मंत्रों की आहुतियों से दाह किया गया और जब वह बहु मूल्य शरीर केवल एक भस्म की ढेरी रह गया तो सब भाई घरों को लौटे।

उस समय आर्य्य-धर्म रूपी देवी का आर्तनाद स्पष्ट सुनाई देता था—

"हा! वीर लेखराम, पुत्र! क्या तुम सदा के लिए मेरी सेवा से जुदे होते हो?"

इस प्रश्न का उत्तर मेरे अन्दर से निकला। मैंने श्रद्धा पूर्वक मन ही मन में उत्तर दिया—"देवी! धर्म-वीर के रक्त की एक एक बिंदु से एक एक वीर उत्पन्न होगा और वे सब तुम्हारी सेवा करेंगे।" और सचमुच उन रक्त बिंदुओं ने वीर प्रचारक उत्पन्न किए और सोमनाथ, वज़ीर चन्द्र, मथुरादास, तुलसीराम, सन्तराम, योगेन्द्रपाल, जगतसिंहादि ने ओ३म् का झण्डा उठाए हुए प्राण दिए और अन्य भी बीसियों वीर काम कर रहे हैं; परन्तु आज पौने अठारह वर्षों के पश्चात् भी देवी का वही आर्त-विलाप सुनाई देता है—

"हा, पुत्र लेखराम! वीर! क्या सदा की यात्रा में ही चले गए? फिर दर्शन न दोगे?"

क्या देवी की पवित्र पुकार बहरे कानों पर ही पड़ती रहेगी और ब्राह्मण धर्म का पालन एक स्वप्न ही बना रहेगा!

समाप्त।

had been made a more convenient place in which to live by the astonishing "discovery" of F. J. Gall and J. K. Spurzheim that the traits that go to make up the human personality have anatomic counterparts in various regions of the brain and that the presence or absence of these traits is revealed by the exterior configuration of the skull. Thus had been founded the "science" of phrenology.* Lombroso's work, however, revived these prescientific ideas and thus diverted attention for some decades from the pursuit of a scientific understanding of the origins of criminal behavior (A. Lindesmith and Y. Levin, 1937).

All the evidence derived from truly scientific study refutes the idea that there is any very important correlation between what a man's face looks like and how he will act under given circumstances (50) To the layman, however, all such evidence seems to count for little against the fact that it would be extremely convenient if there were some such relationship. And so the modern rehashers of Lavater, Gall, Spurzheim, Lombroso, and other pioneers in misinterpretation find a lucrative field for exploitation. It must be very satisfying, we suppose, to know that "always and everywhere, the normal blond has positive, dynamic, driving . . and variety-loving characteristics; while the normal brunette has negative, static, conservative . characteristics" (K. M. H. Blackford and A Newcomb, 1915, p. 141).

Pyknic and Asthenic "Types."—Equally unfruitful and unscientific have been the efforts to reduce the complexities of personality prediction to matters of body build. Hippocrates, the Greek physician, distinguished between the *habitus apoplecticus* and the *habitus phthisicus* types of people. The former—fat people—were disposed, he thought, to apoplexy; the latter—thin people—were disposed to tuberculosis. This idea of neatly classifying people into a few body types has been made the basis for personality prediction. Most widely known, perhaps, is the work of E Kretschmer (51) who would have us believe that we can determine the specific temperament of the people with whom we must live if we subject them to physical measurement in accordance with the complicated indexes he has set up Serving as a

* Neurologists of today postulate only a very tentative map of brain areas with accompanying "functions." The name of the function is derived either from the sense organ from which the nerve impulses come, such as the visual or the auditory, or from the body region in which there will be a response if the particular brain area is electrically stimulated. Thus, in the pre-Rolandic area is a spot the stimulation of which will effect wiggling of the toes. But one brain area can apparently take on functions formerly associated with other brain areas, and some neurologists believe that the brain acts more or less as a whole. Clearly, the views of modern science are far removed from those of phrenology.

basis to his theory is the idea that there are two fundamental classes of personalities: pyknic and asthenic (leptosomic). These elaborate technical terms are, upon examination, found to be little more than substitutes for the older extrovert-introvert classificatory system, which is in turn based upon the time-honored distinction between the "doer" and the "dreamer" It is true that in certain psychopathic cases we find the extreme introvert who lives in a world of unreality and is more or less unresponsive to stimuli of external origin. But to generalize from these cases and to conclude that the mass of human beings can be divided into two mutually exclusive categories is neither sound logic nor common sense Furthermore, even though we were to assume that these two classes of personalities exist, it would not follow that classification could be made on the basis of anatomic or of anthropometric criteria The notion brings to mind the ancient superstition that the physically crippled human being is a creature of the Devil and has a mind as crippled as his body.

The Unscientific Character of All Stereotyping.—Every so often someone, frequently a medical man, "discovers" that human behavior is simply a matter of glands "Gland types" will be described; and the effects upon the behavior of abnormal "types" which are produced by supplying them with some hormone or other will lead to the conclusion that all undesirable behavior, from criminality to economic incompetence, can be promptly driven from the world by so many cubic centimeters of this or that There is just sufficient truth behind such claims to give them credence. The complex, interdependent, and little known system of glands of internal secretion is a part of the physiological mechanism that aids men to behave in ways that are human. Disturbance of that system, for whatever reason, may affect behavior. It is no doubt true that the "thyroid type" is likely to be more active than is the normal person (52) This knowledge does not, however, help us much in attempting to predict the behavior of the personality involved Our interest is, of necessity, in the qualitative aspects of personality. What will so-and-so do under such and such circumstances? To say that he will do more of whatever he does than would the average person does not tell us what he is going to do.

All claims to evaluate the human personality in terms of objectively measurable physical criteria, however scientific their pretensions, belong in the same category as "character reading" by means of palmistry, astrology,* numerology, and the countless other ologies through which the unscrupulous exploit the credulous

* An analysis of the birth dates of over six thousand musicians and artists has made it clear that possessors of the "artistic temperament" know no particular

INDIRECT RELATION BETWEEN PHYSIQUE AND PERSONALITY

Personality stereotyping is generally unrealistic and without verifiable basis. It proceeds upon the assumption that there is a direct and unvarying relationship between two phenomena, usually between a certain physical attribute and a certain personality attribute. But, as has been indicated, modern people are forced to make many of their person-to-person adjustments at least initially on the basis of stereotyping Such stereotyping will have its immediate effects upon the behavior of the one who is stereotyped and may in the long run affect his personality development In some instances certain attributes of a person's individuality would appear to be indirectly related to some aspect or aspects of physique.

Nature of the Relationship.—A given attribute of physique may lead people to stereotype an individual in a certain way and to treat him as though he had the personality attributes that are imputed to this stereotype Thus, although there certainly is no demonstrated relationship between the color of one's hair and one's covert behaviors, there may be a relationship between hair color and the sort of treatment accorded by others. If most people rather consistently treat the redhead as though he were "hot tempered," the blonde as though she were "beautiful but dumb," and the striking brunette as though she were innately flirtatious, the redhead, the blonde, and the brunette might conceivably become so. The redheaded boy who is perpetually plagued by his companions, constantly teased to provoke his "hot temper," frequently accused by adults of being hot tempered, etc, may develop intense covert responses of the hot-tempered order Indeed, it is possible that in time he will come to pattern himself upon some real or symbolic hot-tempered redhead model. Even so, his red hair has not been the direct cause of his hot temper. The relationship between them was indirect: red hair provoked a given sort of response from his fellows, and that response developed the hot temper.

The distinction between the indirect and direct relationship of physique and personality is of vital significance The attributes of physique are more or less fixed by nature, but the social stereotypes associated with given physical attributes are subject to change. In our society where there is a tendency to stereotype redheads in the "hot-tempered" category, there may well be some tendency for redheads to develop hot tempers. But the stereotype may change in

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birth month, in spite of the contentions of the astrologers (P. R. Farnsworth, 1938b)

time, and then the indirect effect of red hair would be quite different from what it now is.*

The Either-or Result of Stereotyping.—If all other things were equal, the person who was consistently placed in a given stereotype would develop the personality attributes of that stereotype; the redhead would become hot tempered, the overgrown boy a clumsy and inept man, the undersized boy a meek little adult, the beautiful girl a brainless clotheshorse, etc. But stereotyping is seldom consistent, and all other things are never equal

Whereas strangers and acquaintances of brief standing tend to stereotype us and may do so in terms of some physical attribute, the people who are most vital to our social development will tend to treat us in terms of our actual personality attributes. Strangers may overestimate the age of the overgrown boy, stereotype him as a fifteen-year-old when he is only twelve, and treat him as a clumsy, inept oaf But his parents and other intimates know that he is just a little boy, however big he is physically, and will therefore tend to excuse his stumblings and not expect him to perform on the fifteen-year-old level The other boys in the neighborhood may stereotype the red-headed new arrival as hot tempered; but before such stereotyping has had time to become effective, they may have become sufficiently intimate with him to know, as do his parents, that he is really of gentle disposition Whether stereotyping on the basis of some physical attribute will be at all significant in the development of the individual's personality attributes will depend in the first instance, then, upon the importance to the individual of the people who do the stereotyping Even a striking physical attribute, such as redheadedness, may have no significant effect upon the growth of personality

Stereotyping does not operate irrespective of other factors affecting the development of personality, and these other factors will largely determine the way the individual will adjust to the fact that he is rather consistently treated as though he were this or that sort of person. To the extent that he accepts the role accorded him, he will come to fit the stereotype, to the extent that other factors lead him to struggle against acceptance of the role, he will tend to develop personality attributes diametrically opposed to those of the stereotype

The two extreme possibilities can perhaps be most clearly illustrated by the case of the undersized "sweet-looking" little boy Damning in the eyes of other boys is the golden, curly hair and child-

* With the Arabians red hair means not hot temper but "one who has been to Mecca" The Arabian who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca may dye his beard red and will thereafter be looked upon with respect

like physiognomy that lead adults to stereotype a small boy as "a sweet child." Boys will promptly label him for persecution as a sissy, a "mama's boy," or the like. The effect upon him of the treatment they accord him is not, however, predictable in terms of itself He might, of course, have so little association with other boys that their stereotyping of him would be ineffective. If, however, it is effective, that effect will tend to be one of two extremes. If he has, as a consequence of prior factors, learned to accept as his role that of the small, insignificant person, he will probably submit humbly to mistreatment at the hands of his playmates and in time gain their acceptance as a useful but distinctly inferior member of the gang. He is then well on the way to becoming the sort of meek adult who is perpetually exploited by others; in making him this way, his physical appearance will have played an indirect part. Undoubtedly the meekness and humbleness of the meek and humble little man are in many instances thus indirectly related to his "littleness"

But the golden-haired little boy may, because of antecedent factors, resent rather than accept the role accorded him by other boys. To overcome the handicap of small stature and sweet appearance and to gain acceptance as a "regular fellow," he will then struggle against the stereotype, endeavoring to prove to his companions that he is by nature anything but a sissy, anything but a mama's boy. The direction that such struggles will take depends upon his own ingenuity. But if he is successful, he will become, so far as his playmates are concerned, some sort of antithesis to the stereotype in which they originally placed him. Perhaps he will discover that fighting words and a fighting manner make fighting unnecessary; perhaps he will learn that by being mentally resourceful and suggesting gang procedures, he can win the desired respect. In either event he will have acquired some attributes of the so-called domineering and aggressive personality. Undoubtedly the blustering aggressiveness of the blustering and aggressive little man are often thus indirectly related to his subnormal stature, even as is the slyness of the sly little fellow

There is, therefore, a degree of truth in the old saying that a man will become what you believe him to be. But the long-run effects of stereotyping upon a person so stereotyped are so complex and so much conditioned by other factors, that treating a crook as an honest man is quite certain to have disappointing results.

PART IV

Personality and Social Adjustment

CHAPTER XII

THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

For purposes of analysis we may inventory the various attributes of a given personality as of a given time; but in point of fact life is a process, living is a procedure, and personality is of necessity dynamic. In this chapter and in subsequent chapters we shall examine the various factors that make life dynamic in any society and the special factors that operate under conditions of social change to make many of the personality "assets" of today "liabilities" of tomorrow.

Dynamics in the Static Society.—From an ethnographer's report on the structure of a primitive society one is likely to get the impression that in such a society life must be very dull, a constant repetition of age-old acts. The student of our own medieval order or of the traditional Chinese social system might likewise be led to conclude that in such a society the individual's life must be one of deadening monotony. Year after year, century after century, men have gone on doing the same old things, thinking the same old thoughts, and repeating well-worn phrases.

From the sociological point of view a social system may be relatively static and the pattern of the individual's life may have definite historical continuity. The patterns of social behavior are comparatively stable. They change but slowly with time, and the new is always an outgrowth of the old But to the social psychologist, whose attention is focused upon the behaving individual, human behavior is never static However old a thing may be in point of social history, it is entirely new to the newborn child; however traditional a way of life may be, it is novel to the one who must learn to follow it. Thus, from the standpoint of the individual's adjustment to society, life is dynamic even in the stable social system.*

The human infant starts life without any of those social adjustment techniques which *in toto* we designate the human personality. From birth onward he slowly, laboriously, and in the ways previously described acquires a personality. But it is never a completed struc-

* See *The individual and his society: the psychodynamics of primitive social organization* (A. Kardiner and R. Linton, 1939) for a detailed discussion of this point.

ture; for a personality is not something that, once acquired, remains static. It is perpetually being modified—added to and subtracted from. We may romantically say of the youth that, having grown to maturity, he "marries and settles down" But neither at marriage nor at any other point in his life history does he achieve the state of being so much "settled down" that his personality attributes may long remain fixed Two interrelated sets of factors—the physical life cycle and the social life cycle—make necessary continuous personality change, even for the individual who is born into, lives in, and dies in a relatively static social system.

THE PHYSICAL LIFE CYCLE

Like all the complex organisms, man has a normal life cycle He is conceived and born; he grows to maturity, and he begins his organic decline, which terminates with death. Each event along this cycle will lessen the value of some previous patterns of adjustment and will necessitate some modification of the individual's personality.

Physical Maturation.—The human infant has, as we have observed, great organic potentialities but slight organic capabilities His organic machinery is only partly developed. He is physically as well as psychologically incapable of walking, talking, and otherwise engaging in human activities. He learns how to do these things as he gradually gains the physical ability to do them. Thus, when he has matured sufficiently, he begins to learn to walk in a particular fashion. The acquisition of even such a comparatively simple manual skill as that of walking is, however, dynamic. To the growing child the physical world is constantly changing It is at once expanding, in the sense that his sphere of activity is enlarging, and contracting, in the sense that the twenty-step room becomes a nineteen-step room as his legs and his stride grow longer All the child's adjustments to his physical world must, therefore, undergo constant revision If growth rate were always slow and consistent, the child would probably have no difficulty in correcting his manual adjustment patterns to the changing relative sizes of rooms, tables, chairs, doors, trees, etc But children tend to grow by "fits and starts." A period of rapid growth will temporarily maladjust the child to his physical environment, making his former adjustments so out of keeping with his changed relation to his physical environment that he bumps against walls, scrapes against tables, falls over chairs, and overreaches doorknobs, dishes, and all the other things he takes into his hands. Just as he has outgrown his clothing, so he has outgrown his home and all the physical objects with which he deals The outgrown clothing can be

replaced with new and larger clothes. But the physical world cannot be enlarged to accommodate him; he must readjust to it.*

As he grows in physical size, he will also grow in strength. Substances, including people, will in effect get increasingly fragile, a fact to which he must make readjustment. The door that just closed when it was pushed with all his strength when he was five will slam when it is pushed with all his strength at eight. The kick that amused the dog and Father six months ago may hurt them now. Thus the act that secured one result yesterday may secure quite a different one today.

Not a little of the child's baffling experience with the world arises as a consequence of his growth in physical size and strength Not a little of the child's propensity for slamming doors, falling down stairs, smashing precious vases, and hurting the family pets is simply evidence that psychologically he has not caught up with his changing body

Adolescence.—Growth in size and strength are largely matters of quantitative change The first important qualitative changes are those which occur at puberty, when the sex glands come to maturity Adolescence begins sometime around the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth year in girls and somewhat later in boys.† The physiological

* In the case of exceptionally rapid growth, the manual clumsiness of a child may have important consequences other than the inevitable danger to physical welfare. The abnormally clumsy child or youth may impress those about him as incompetent. This social judgment may in time become a self-judgment and may thus discourage effort on the part of the child to achieve a normal adjustment The boy who matures late has a period during which his strength is inferior to that of his associates (N Bayley, unpublished data) Although height and weight are not correlated with personality scores in group studies, it is obvious that the abnormally tall or short child often has especially difficult adjustment problems (W C Middleton, 1941*a*) It is in view of such possibilities that child psychologists urge a sympathetic tolerance of children's ineptitudes

† It is frequently held that external factors, such as climate, play some part in the rate of maturation and thus in the age at which puberty occurs The conventional belief that children "come of age" very young in the tropics because of the climate has not, however, been verified Considerable individual variation exists, but the reason why one girl becomes sexually mature at the age of ten and another not until she is seventeen is so far unascertained That the age at which puberty occurs may have considerable bearing upon the development of personality characteristics is a possibility that should not be ignored. Studies of American girls of the same age showed that those who had reached the menarche (first menstrual flow) displayed greater maturity of interests, more heterosexual interests, more interest in daydreaming and self-adornment, and less interest in strenuous games than did those who had not. There were no significant differences in I Q (C. P. Stone and R. G Barker, 1937 and 1939) Boys with great

aspects of adolescence include a sharp intensification of erotic sensitivity and a fairly sudden development of capacity for true sexual experience. The sensitive zones of the skin may tend to become more sensitive; increased erotic satisfaction can be secured by lightly stroking these zones; and the body becomes capable of achieving a psychophysical crisis (orgasm) under prolonged stimulation. At the same time, certain secondary sex characteristics begin to make their appearance. The boy's voice changes, in the course of time dropping a full octave or more and, in the process, getting somewhat out of control; hair begins to make its appearance upon the face and other regions, especially those surrounding the sexual organs The girl's breasts develop, hair makes its appearance beneath the arms and elsewhere, and the periodic menstrual flow begins.

Some of these physiological changes, such as the change of voice and appearance of the beard in boys and the enlargement of the breasts and occurrence of the menstrual flow in girls, impel the individual to learn some new ways of handling his own body. It is by no means clear, however, that the appearance of the capacity for sexual experience makes such experience a biological imperative and so accounts for the marked adjustment difficulties that have long been thought an inevitable phase of the process of growing up. At any event, the personality changes that we associate with the period of adolescence are so much a consequence of a change in social status, which is only precipitated by sexual maturation, that we cannot discuss the one apart from the other (53).

Maturity.—The human organism normally reaches a period of comparative stability sometime after its twentieth year During the period of maturity, physiological changes are slight and of little importance to personality Maturity is for most people in most societies a period of great physical well-being and, hence, of great potential productivity.* The duration of the period varies widely, depending on the inherited constitution of the organism and the uses and abuses to which the organism is subjected The professional pugilist is old at twenty-five, and the dance-band musician at thirty; chronic malnutrition and extremely arduous labor may exhaust the primitive, the peasant, and the modern industrial worker before they reach the age of thirty-five, the hard-driven physician may begin to crack up at forty; whereas a member of the academic profession (the longest

male hormone activity were found to have more mature interests than those who were less physiologically mature (R T Sollenberger, 1940)

* The most creative years are different for the several occupations (H C Lehman, 1936, 1937, 1941, and 1942, H C. Lehman and D W Ingerham, 1939)

lived occupational group in contemporary society)* may so conserve his energies that he is still a sound organism at fifty.

Accidents and Illnesses.—The normal life cycle may be interrupted at any point by an accident to the organism It can be injured from without by a fall, a bullet, or any one of countless other misadventures. It can be injured from within by bacterial infection, food and other poisoning, deterioration or malfunctioning of one or more of the organs, etc. Any interruption in the life cycle will necessitate more or less significant changes in the individual's personality A broken leg and other temporary interruptions will ordinarily have but temporary consequences, although the experience of being injured or ill may itself affect the personality.† Permanent injury or chronic illness will necessitate marked and permanent changes in the personality ‡ Obviously, loss of sight not only destroys the value of many attributes of personality but makes necessary the development of new ones The blinded man, for example, must reconcile himself to the fact that he can no longer be an architect and must somehow learn to make the best of his remaining senses. The man who develops a weak heart must give up tennis and content himself with such intellectual pastimes as bridge.

Senescence.—When the human organism has passed its period of maturity, it begins the slow descent toward final death Somewhere along this descent the individual will begin to feel the effects of declining vigor, declining stamina, declining sexual powers,§ deterioration of the sensory mechanism, etc. (54). At some point or other he must readjust to loss of teeth, loss and graying of hair, loss of youthful appearance, and, vastly more important although frequently ignored in contemporary society, loss of physical ability to keep going at the pace that was possible during the period of maturity As we shall see, the nature of the readjustments and the ease with which he makes them are almost wholly dependent upon social factors But that

* See *Length of life: a study of the life table* (L. I. Dublin and A. J Lotka, 1935).

† There is some evidence that children who have many minor illnesses learn to adjust to reality better than do their sturdier brethren (M C. Hardy, 1937)

‡ See *Born that way* (E. R Carlson, 1941) for a discussion of the adjustment problems of those suffering from spastic paralysis. See also "Discussion on the psychological aspects of deafness" (H Frey, A B Stokes, and I R Ewing, 1940–1941).

§ There is an interesting and at times socially significant difference between men and women in the senescence of sexual powers Man's capacity to procreate declines slowly and may not terminate until death Women's procreative capacity, on the other hand, terminates rather suddenly at the menopause, a period of glandular readjustment that occurs about the forty-fifth year, but, contrary to much lay belief, the capacity to engage in the sex act may not be impaired and may actually increase

some sorts of readjustment are necessitated by the various factors of aging should be clear. The personality attributes of the gay young blade of twenty-five simply cannot be retained when the organism begins to deteriorate. At fifty the gay young blade is but an aging man pretending to be young.

Senility and Death.—If the human organism lives to complete its life cycle, the latter years of that cycle will be a period of rapid physical deterioration and rapidly approaching death. Both factors will force marked changes in the personality. Although some few human beings retain their "faculties" more or less intact during senility and die all at once, in the manner of the one-horse shay, most senile people die by degrees. Bit by bit the organic machinery runs down; little by little the various "faculties" are lost. Each such decline, each such loss, forces the senile person to make some sort of readjustment. In the main such readjustments are of the order of abandoning former activities; they seldom involve the development of new personality attributes. In a sense, then, the personality of the senile person steadily contracts until, as it has been put, he becomes again the helpless infant, like the infant in that he must be cared for but unlike the infant in that he is unable to learn how to care for himself.

It is, ordinarily, only during the latter years of the life cycle that the imminence of death becomes an important factor in personality adjustment.* The individual may, of course, anticipate eventual death to the extent of purchasing life insurance, preparing a will, etc. But it is not until old age that the probabilities of surviving tomorrow become so slight that the human being must actually prepare himself—as contrasted to providing for others in the event of unexpected death—for dying. Presumably the lower animals are spared this necessity, since recognition of imminent death probably can come only by means of complex symbolic processes. But society teaches men, among other things, that they will eventually die and that the older they get the sooner (in terms of probabilities) death will come. Although death is an inescapable law of life, the recognition of this law is a social matter, and the mode and ease of adjustment to the eventuality of death are largely determined, as we shall see, by social factors.

* Exceptions include times of physical crisis, such as occur during illness and participation in hazardous activities—engagement in military combat; work in mines, construction projects, etc.; and travel by dangerous means and into dangerous regions. The real but uncalculable hazards of so-called natural catastrophes—earthquake, fire, drought, flood, etc.—are seldom adjusted to in advance. See *The child's discovery of death* (S. Anthony, 1940).

Indirect Effects of the Life Cycle.—As the individual grows up and old and makes his adjustments to the organic processes, all the people with whom he associates are doing likewise. The social system may remain relatively stable, but the people whose behavior constitutes that system are coming and going in an endless stream. Abstractly, this coming and going may be of no significance. But to the individual it is significant in that his environment of persons is perpetually changing. As a child his world of people includes, among others, a mother, a father, perhaps a small brother and sister,* and a middle-aged grandmother and grandfather. As the years pass, the latter die, the father and mother become middle-aged, and the brother and sister become mature persons. At the same time, new persons to whom he must make adjustments are born—sons and daughters, nieces and nephews, etc. And all of them are constantly changing His son becomes mature; his wife becomes middle-aged; etc. The aging of others means that his adjustment techniques of yesterday will need revision for today, and those of today will be inadequate for tomorrow.

THE SOCIAL LIFE CYCLE

As the individual progresses through the physical cycle, he also progresses through a more or less definite social cycle. The two cycles are often concurrent but are not necessarily correlated. The social life cycle consists of a succession of socially designated roles, the exact nature of which will depend upon the particular society, the individual's class position therein, and his sex. But whatever its nature, each shift from role to role will necessitate some readjustments of the individual's personality.

The Nature of the Social Role.—The role of a child is different from that of a man, the role of a man different from that of a woman, the role of a priest different from that of a soldier. The social role, whatever its specific character, is made up of cultural elements and is enforced in much the same way as the role of a character in a play is enforced upon the player. The other members of the cast—of the play or of real-life situations—expect the individual to behave in accordance with the role that age and other factors have assigned to him Thus, as Johnny grows older, he is told, "You are a big boy now, and big

* Birth order in the family is one of the variables that determine the sort of adjustment a child is called upon to make. The oldest child of a large family tends to be the most adequately adjusted (E. M. Abernathy, 1940). Throughout childhood sibling rivalries necessitate many readjustments (D. M. Levy, 1937; and M. B. McFarland, 1938).

boys don't do this and that." When he reaches maturity, he may be told, "You're on your own now, John." When he marries, his friends and relatives may say, "At last you will settle down and become responsible."

The way people respond to an individual depends in considerable measure upon his designated social role. In relations between comparative strangers, stereotyping will determine their relative roles; perhaps the shabbier is respectful to the one who is better dressed In intimate relations, the role of each person has developed through time and will depend upon factors of age, economic status, educational status, achievements of one sort and another, marital and parental status, and the like The father may excuse the child, reprove the youth, and disown the man The law may send the youth to a correctional institution and execute the adult

Supplementing, and at times conflicting* with, the response of others to the individual's designated role are his own ideas of what sort of person he is or should be The processes here involved have already been discussed as learning by example. Just as the juvenile may long to play the role of Hamlet, the youth may strive to act like a man (or his idea of a man), the man to act like a responsible husband and father, etc.

Childhood and Youth.—The period of childhood is largely a matter of social definition and varies from place to place and from time to time. But the role of the child is everywhere much the same. The child is expected to acquire many of the basic attributes of human nature, but he is not expected to use these attributes in contributing to group welfare Childhood is, therefore, a period of preparation rather than of participation The child is an economic and social parasite, living off the surpluses produced by those who have progressed through childhood to adult roles.†

The period of youth frequently begins at adolescence and often involves induction into the new role by some more or less elaborate puberty rite.‡ Youth is a period of social apprenticeship, when the

* Adolescent girls often suffer severely from the mother-daughter conflict of ideas. Most of the discord is due to differences in thinking regarding manners, personal appearance, attitudes, and goals (M F Nimkoff, 1931; and V L Block, 1937). See also "Age group conflict and our changing culture" (E. H. Bell, 1933)

† Exceptions are to be noted In rural societies children are often partially self-supporting as soon as they become capable of doing simple tasks In early industrial England, and to a lesser extent elsewhere, children were fed into the factories, worn out, and discarded long before they reached their teens.

‡ The functional value of puberty rites as a means of introducing the maturing

social skills that were learned during childhood are tried out under adult guidance. The social demands upon the youth are much greater than those upon the child. Generally, the youth is expected to "earn his salt" in social as well as economic ways, but he is not expected to be fully self-reliant or to make a contribution to the welfare of the group. In most social systems the demands made on the youth are tempered by the granting of liberties that he did not possess as a child. Thus the youth, unlike the child, may be permitted to wander afield in search of adventure, amorous and otherwise

Occupational Maturity.—At some point or other in the social life cycle, the individual comes of age economically. The young man "goes to work," not as a part-time and rather casual apprentice, but as a member in good standing in an occupational group. He joins the hunters or the fishers or becomes a soldier; or, as is the case in the modern world, he gets a job in a factory, office, shop, etc For the young woman occupational maturity frequently means getting married. Her job is then that of wife and daughter-in-law or wife and homemaker, as the case may be

Whatever the specific characteristics of the occupational role, that role invariably presupposes a considerable degree of self-reliance and a productivity (in both social and economic "goods") that is above that necessary for self-maintenance. It is during maturity that the individual tends to pay off the debts incurred during childhood and to store up for the unproductive period of old age. He and she may do this by raising a family and at the same time providing for their elders or, as is the modern tendency, by paying taxes on the one hand (part of which will go to the maintenance of schools, old-age pensions, poor farms, etc.), and buying annuities and life insurance on the other The debts incurred and payments made are not, of course, exclusively economic.* During childhood we are given much attention that will ordinarily be returned by giving attention to our own children and to "the old folks" In any event, it is the period of occupational maturity that requires the greatest self-reliance, imposes the greatest burdens, and offers the least immediate returns

Marriage and Parenthood.—Marriage and its frequent consequence, parenthood, are likewise roles that make new demands on the individual Upon entering marriage both the husband and wife normally renounce certain liberties and assume new responsibilities.

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child to his or her new social responsibilities is clearly shown in *Life in Lesu* (H. Powdermaker, 1933)

* In *Growing up in New Guinea,* Mead describes a system of economic indebtedness that effectively enslaves husband and wife to their elders (M Mead, 1930)

In most societies it is at least tacitly assumed that as parents they will provide their children with economic maintenance and social training. The moral and legal responsibilities of husband for wife, and vice versa, and of parent for child vary from society to society. In general, the marital and parental roles are much more restrictive than is the role of youth, and grant few, if any, new rights. These roles are ordinarily, however, a necessary prelude to rights that will mature in later years.

Old Age.—In most social systems the role of the elder is theoretically and often actually one that involves many rights and few onerous responsibilities. In most societies, age has been revered and respected as the period of greatest wisdom. The aged have been granted every possible consideration, including that of the choicest foods the household could provide. The role of the aged has been that of nominal and perhaps actual leader From the sociopsychological point of view, the granting of such rights and the release from arduous duties has served as a partial if not complete compensation for declining vigor and health.

Shifting Roles and Personality Adaptation.—Although the point has not been stressed in the foregoing, it should be evident that, as the individual moves from social role to social role, his personality must undergo some sort of readaption. As he enters the roles of maturity, he must, for example, reconcile himself to new responsibilities and the loss of former liberties. How marked the changes that must be made in his personality will be will depend upon the extent to which his previous role or roles have fitted him for the new one. And that extent, in turn, will depend largely upon the stability of the social system that has trained him and that assigns him his roles

SOCIAL DYNAMICS

With some notable exceptions, the stable social systems have given continuity to the personality of the individual. Not only were his various social roles well defined and so graduated that each one led rather easily to the next, but his methods of adjusting to the various phases of the physical life cycle were socially provided and were compatible one with another. Under such conditions the individual's personality necessarily acquired new attributes as he grew up and old; but each new attribute was only an elaboration and extension of what he had previously learned. Thus the attributes of personality that he acquired during childhood would both fit him to the child role and partially prepare him for adolescence and the role of youth, etc. In the contemporary world, on the other hand, the individual may arrive

at each successive point on the physical life cycle and at each new role on the social life cycle without many of the personality attributes that are necessary and with some that are in the nature of malpreparation.

Social Disorganization.—We have remarked from time to time that ours is a disorganized society. Abstractly, this disorganization of our society may be considered as a variable, complex, and continuing disequilibrium between the functional units of the social order.* In general terms, it might be said that we have replaced old Dobbin with a high-powered internal-combustion motor and are having difficulty keeping the buggy and the motor together. Now a buggy is an effective conveyance for use with a horse, but it was not designed to house a one hundred-horsepower motor. A considerable amount of tinkering is going to be necessary to adapt the buggy to this new motive power.

During the past few hundred years vast changes have occurred in our techniques of nature control. The tractor has replaced the old hand plow, the truck the wagon, and the automobile the horse and buggy, the sailing ship has become the fleet steamer; and all our means of transportation have been supplemented by the airplane. The electroturbine has replaced the little water wheel; the lance and sword have become machine gun and bomb. Handicraft has moved from the home to the great factory; men have moved from the farm and village to the vast city. And the changes in our techniques of nature control go on incessantly.

Our techniques of social relations, however, have not kept pace. For reasons that need not be considered here, we have clung to the old social ways while avidly accepting new mechanical, industrial, and agricultural devices. But the old ways have been disrupted and disorganized by these new devices.† Slowly, by painful experimentation, the old social patterns are being readjusted to them. During this period of readjustment, the social system is functioning so inadequately that many despair of its survival. Others offer easy panaceas —ranging from an abandonment of the new technologies and a return to the "good" life of some distant time to the establishment of a planned social order based upon the new techniques.

The inescapable fact is that, whatever the future holds, the present is one of profound confusion. The disorganization of the preindustrial

* For attempts to establish objective criteria for the measurement of social disorganization, see "The measurement and significance of institutional disorganization" (J. F. Cuber, 1938) and "The problem of teaching social problems" (R. C. Fuller, 1938).

† See *Technology and society* (S. M. Rosen and L. Rosen, 1941), especially Part III.

units of social life and our failure as yet to replace them with new forms of group organization does nothing to decrease the dependence of the individual upon society and only tends to set him at odds with society.* In the first place the socialization processes are disordered, and the individual does not receive that systematic social guidance which makes possible easy adjustment to his successive social roles He is, as a consequence, often in the position of an actor who is thrust out onto the stage expected to play the part of Hamlet but equipped to play the part of Bottom In the second place, social change has disorganized the social system and outmoded many time-honored human practices and procedures. Thus the outlines of the play itself are blurred; new plot elements are introduced from time to time; and the cast is constantly perplexed and confused A story of peace? Of war? Of revolution? A comedy of errors, individual and social? The tragedy of poverty or the equal tragedy of excess wealth? In a dynamic social system it is quite impossible to predict, and hence prepare for, the social changes of the future and their effects upon the course of an individual's life.

Long-run versus Short-run Adjustment Values.—The human infant is plastic and could, presumably, be fitted for almost any sort of life He could be trained to make adjustment to wealth or poverty, to idleness or slavery, to peace or war, and to long life or early death But every adjustment that he learns reduces by that much his plasticity, fitting him to one sort of life circumstance and unfitting him for many others. This is not to say that, as a human being becomes older, he grows incapable of learning new habits, but rather that habits already acquired tend to interfere with the learning of new ones † Thus it is comparatively easy to learn the correct pronuncia-

* There is a vast and ever-growing body of literature on the relation between social disorganization and personality disorganization The May, 1937, issue of *The American Journal of Sociology* and the August, 1940, issue of *The Sociological Review* are devoted to the subject and will provide a general introduction to the problem Note especially the articles by H. Blumer and P Schilder in the former and that by L Wirth in the latter See also *Social pathology* (S. A Queen and J R Gruener, 1940); "The concepts social disorganization and social participation" (S A Queen, 1941), "A study of personal disorganization" (E R. Mowrer, 1939), and "Maladjustment and social neurosis" (G. Devereux, 1939)

The most thoroughgoing systematic analysis of the problem from the socio-psychological point of view is *Personality and problems of adjustment* (K. Young, 1940).

† Older people are considerably less adept at solving problems where the task to be undertaken conflicts in great degree with what has been already learned. If, for example, older people and adolescent youngsters are both asked to solve problems that contain the peculiar assumptions that three times one equals one, three

tion of a new word, but it is exceedingly difficult to learn the correct pronunciation of a word that has long been mispronounced. As the personality develops, the original plasticity of the individual diminishes. The personality cannot be melted down and recast to keep it up to date with changing circumstances.

The individual's personality develops largely in terms of short-run adjustment values. Under conditions of social stability these short-run values will more or less coincide with their long-run value—their effectiveness in future life situations. But in the disorganized society, short-run and long-run adjustment values will, as we shall see, often run counter one to the other. Under such conditions, a curious sociopsychological contradiction makes its appearance: the more thoroughly and effectively the individual is trained in terms of short-run adjustment values, the more he is malprepared for later life. In a very important sense, the less the child and youth are socialized, the better they will be fitted for the unpredictable conditions they must adjust to in later life. To a considerable degree, the best preparation for adjustment to social confusion is no specific preparation at all. In a dynamic society effective adjustment means meeting each new situation in terms of itself rather than in terms of some preestablished attribute of personality.

times four equals two, and the like, the former age group will progress in its learning much more slowly than will the latter. On the other hand, if the learning task is of a type in which there is far less conflict with well-established habits, the oldsters will be under a much smaller handicap (F. L. Ruch, 1931).

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND MALPREPARATION

FAMILY DISORGANIZATION

The family is still the basic training unit for most children in contemporary society It is in the home—Park Avenue penthouse or crowded auto trailer—that the child acquires the primary patterns upon which all subsequent experience will operate From the intimate, personal relations with parents and siblings he would seem to secure many of the overt and most of the covert patterns that become vitally important in his adjustments as an adult. Through these relations he acquires those complex personality attributes that are suggested by such terms as selfishness and unselfishness, confidence and lack of confidence, and self-reliance and lack of self-reliance.

But the modern family is not the family system of a hundred years ago or even that of fifty years ago. It is not a system at all.* It is no more than the fragments of a system that has been shattered by the forces of social change. As one consequence, the modern family frequently malprepares its children for the situations to which they must subsequently adjust.

The character of the family in which the modern child is born and in which he receives his early training† may vary from a reasonable facsimile of the old-fashioned family (the farm family tends toward this pole) to a child-mother relationship that is almost untempered by the presence of other adults About the only safe generalization that can be made regarding the modern family is that no two will be very much alike The infinite variety of ways in which the modern family may malprepare the child for later life will, however, for simplicity of analysis be treated in terms of a few polar types. These are, in effect, the extreme possibilities. The malpreparation of a given child may,

* See *The family: a dynamic interpretation* (W Waller, 1938) and *Marriage and the family* (R. E Baber, 1939).

Social disorganization (M A. Elliott and F. E. Merrill, 1941) contains a treatment of family disorganization as well as of community disorganization—a topic to be considered later in this chapter.

† See "Early home background and personality adjustment" (M. M. Bolles, H F. Metzger, and M. W. Pitts, 1941).

of course, fall far short of an extreme and may include aspects of more than one of these types.

The Petty Tyrant.—All children must be indulged in the sense that they must be taken care of, guided, and protected from the consequences of their own ineptitude. When, however, the child is elevated within the home to the status of petty tyrant, he is likely to acquire attributes of personality that will make for his being maladjusted when he leaves it

In the modern world many things may foster such overindulgence of the child. The decline in family size, almost universal in Western societies, tends to give to each child a more important role in the family. The parents of five children ordinarily divide their parental time five ways, and the child with four siblings is unlikely to develop an excessive sense of his own importance.* But the parents of only one child can, though they may not, lavish on him the parental attention that might have been divided among five. Such an overindulged child may learn to rule his parents with a childish will.

As the size of families has declined, so too has the function of the home as a domestic workshop. In the old family system women had much more to do than tend their children; they were processors of food, fabricators of textiles, etc Today most such work has been taken over by the factory. Where the women have not also gone to the factory, they are left at home as unemployed. The housewife's free time may be absorbed by a host of pleasurable and nonproductive activities. But in many instances about all she has left to occupy her time is her children. If, then, she has but one or two children, each will be likely to receive from her far more attention than he or she will ever receive from anyone else during his or her lifetime.

An adoring and otherwise unoccupied mother or father or both will constitute an exceedingly bountiful environment, particularly if they can afford to indulge the child with material goods as well as attention Under such conditions the child will ordinarily learn to want many things, in fact an unending series of things. At the same time he will usually come to accept these as a sort of natural right, an offering that is normally forthcoming. Because he has only to ask for in order to receive, he will not learn the techniques of "earning" what he wants. He will more likely learn to be a petty tyrant, getting

* It is always possible, of course, for the parents of a number of children to favor one of them above all the others, and it sometimes happens that the presence of numerous siblings fosters, rather than limits, overindulgence. This is especially true of the child who is so much younger than his siblings that they tend to assume the parental role toward him See *Parent-child relations* (M F. Nimkoff, 1935)

what he wants by insistent demands, temper tantrums, sulking, and other devices that are successful with indulgent parents largely because of their nuisance value.

The personality attributes of the petty tyrant are, thus, the product of an overindulgent and therefore submissive family environment As long as he is within the family sphere, he will be a well-adjusted person. But when time and changing circumstances force him out into the larger world, he will be not "mama's darling boy" but "that damned brat." The boys of the neighborhood, the adults of the community, the teachers at school, and the people who make up his adult economic world will be unlikely to enshrine, pamper, and indulge him. They will expect of him what his adoring parents never did—full repayment in kind for all they give to him The techniques by which he got his way at home will be a distinct handicap to him in his effort to get recognition outside the home. He will, therefore, come to the outside world not only unprepared, but malprepared for it. From the ideal and artificial environment of the home, he will go out into the real world expecting what does not exist and unprepared for what does. He may in time learn reasonably adequate adjustments to some or many aspects of the outside world He may, however, have his "spirit" broken by the shock of discovering that he is not so important as his family has led him to think; or he may become defiant and fight against the world, which refuses to submit to him.

The Overguided.—Coincident with the decline in the number of children per family has been a rise in the average age at parenthood Many factors are involved in bringing this about: the rising standard of economic life encourages postponement of marriage, the development of birth-control techniques makes possible postponement of children after marriage; etc. In any event, there is a significant tendency toward middle-aged parenthood.

As a general rule people become increasingly cautious as they grow older Whereas the twenty-year-old parent may trust to luck and take each day as it comes, the thirty- or forty-year-old parent may be overcautious, foreseeing all the hazards in the child's first step, the dangers inherent in the stairway, etc. If the overcautious parent is also an adoring one, the result may be overguidance The child may thus be trained to conform to his parents' ideas of what is right and expedient and may be given little opportunity to learn by direct experience. His parents may succeed in teaching him to wear the proper clothes and to behave properly in all those situations that they can anticipate They may provide him with cautious adjustments to wet feet, dangerous crossings, and all other anticipatable circumstances. But in so

doing, they prevent him from learning for and by himself. If all his future adjustment problems could be anticipated—and in the stable social system such tends to be the case—this protection from the hazards of trial and error would be wholly advantageous. But the modern parent cannot possibly anticipate a fraction of the circumstances that the child will in time encounter. As has already been remarked, a sort of psychological agility is necessary for survival under conditions of social change. Ability to work out adjustments in terms of the actual circumstances would seem to be largely a matter of skill at covert trial and error. The adjustment consequences of such skill, which may be specific rather than general, are usually spoken of as self-reliance.

The overguided child will be well adjusted within the ordered sphere of the home. But when he enters the disorder of the outside world, he will find a multitude of situational problems that cannot be solved by any of the parentally provided patterns. He will be unprepared in that he has not been allowed to learn the techniques of problem solving; he will be malprepared to the extent that his training leads him to use established elements of personality in adjusting to unprecedented circumstances. Such, for example, is the case when the gentlemanly little boy tries to resolve an encounter with the neighborhood bully by explaining that it is unmannerly to engage in fisticuffs. Not only will he fail to impress the tough, but he will be defenseless in the rough-and-tumble fight imposed upon him.

It should be observed that the overguided child does not expect the world to bow to his will. Rather, he expects others to conform to the same set of rules to which his parents have taught him to conform. He has what might be called a legalistic view of life; he endeavors to adjust in terms of precedent. If he finds an ordered segment of the world in which to live, all may go well with him. But under any other circumstances he will be more or less severely maladjusted unless and until he has acquired some degree of self-reliance. It is possible that many of the more earnest and serious of social reformers are maladjusted conformists who are trying to shape the world into the orderliness necessitated by their own personalities.

The Solitary.—One of the more striking results of contemporary social disorganization is that, although modern people live in great aggregations, they often have few permanent acquaintances and even fewer intimate friends (R. K. Merton, 1938). For the most part their associative life is with passing acquaintances, with coworkers, and with functionaries, such as clerks and elevator boys. In the modern city particularly, associates must be sought out and "impressed." The

shy person and the person who has not learned to be agreeable to acquaintances may find his associative life exceedingly restricted. The perennial popularity of lectures and books on how to be charming and win friends suggests that a considerable number of modern people want more associates than they are able because of their personalities to secure.*

The solitary is frequently the product of a home background so much circumscribed that he had no opportunity to learn to get along with other children. Getting along with others cannot be learned from books or by parental guidance. It can be acquired only by practice. The child who is limited, because of the nature of the home and its relation to the outside world, to association with adults will probably learn to get along with adults. But, as we have seen, the child-adult patterns of relationships will be of little value when the child, becoming an adult, must get along with equals. In general, the personality attributes that are necessary to the achievement of associative life under our impersonal urban conditions—social assurance, good sportsmanship, and all the various ways in which sociable people "win" friends—would seem to be most readily acquired through participation in childhood play activities. The decline in the size of the family means that many children will not be able to secure such training within the family itself; and the urban apartment type home often precludes their securing it among children outside the home. Nursery schools, public schools, playgrounds, and the various girl and boy organizations may be partial substitutes for the informal associations of family and community. But many modern children grow to maturity without having had the opportunity to learn to get along with their kind† and as adults may therefore be solitary rather than sociable.

The Irresponsible.—Too much parental attention is one extreme consequence of the disorganization of the family. Too little is another. The tenement home may be no more than a squalid single room to

* For many years the manufacturer of a well-known mouthwash has claimed that social failure is usually caused by bad breath. Body odor, poor grammar, the wrong face powder or lipstick, and dingy teeth are some of the many things that have been blamed by one manufacturer or another as the reason for lack of friends. Such claims demonstrate only that advertisers believe that many people feel the need for more associative life. In this, rather than in their claims, they are no doubt correct.

† Certain geniuses appear to have overcompensated for a feeling of social inferiority. They had never learned how to make friends and were thus somewhat solitary characters. Unsociability may not, however, be typical of the genius (W. C. Middleton, 1935).

which working parents return wearily at the close of day and from which they go when morning comes again. The costly apartment may be a place of adult gaiety in which children are in the way.* The poor parents will of necessity let their children make out as best they can. Under such circumstances children tend to become street vagabonds, subject only to the intermittent and probably injudicious guidance of the cop on the beat and the school authorities The well-to-do parents will shift responsibility to hired nursemaids, boarding schools, and other commercial agencies. In both cases, the children are likely to develop into irresponsible adults

All work and no play undoubtedly make for unsociability, but all play unquestionably makes for irresponsibility A few children grow up to be men and women who can go through life engrossed in self-amusement. But most children face eventual maturity and the responsibilities, economic and social, that are imposed by the role of the adult. Youth, it will be recalled, is ordinarily a period of social apprenticeship during which the individual is more or less gradually introduced to the responsibilities of the adult. The child who is given too little guidance may have a prolonged childhood, skip the period of youth, and then have adult responsibilities thrust forcibly upon him

Unpreparedness for adult roles is no doubt a general tendency in contemporary society, but it is most striking in the children of many of the very poor and many of the relatively wealthy families The playboy, poor or rich, who is suddenly thrust into the role of worker, of husband, and of father will find the demands made upon him extremely irksome. Perhaps he can in time accept his responsibilities. More likely he will continue on his irresponsible way, losing job after job, spending as he earns, deserting or divorcing his wives, and ignoring, insofar as he is able, the obligations of social membership. And should he be brought to a full stop, he is likely to stare in bewilderment at the adult world, a world that expects of him things he is unprepared to give †

* The presence of children is so incompatible with the way of life of apartment-house dwellers that managers of the "better" sorts of apartment houses often prohibit them Children are, perhaps, even more inappropriate to the way of life that centers in the hotel See *Hotel life* (N. S. Hayner, 1936)

† Mead reports that among the Manus of New Guinea, in striking contrast to most primitive peoples, the step from childhood to adult status is so abrupt that the adult forever after looks back upon his childhood as the only happy period of his life This condition she compares with the consequences in our society of the tendency to prolong childhood. Among the Manus both girls and boys are taught to swim, to handle themselves in boats, and otherwise to take care of them-

The Unstable.—The disorganization of family life is most clearly reflected by the constantly rising divorce rate. Today about one out of every five marriages is terminated by divorce.* Probably another one out of the five is broken by desertion, the poor man's divorce How many of the remaining three are precariously maintained conflict relationships, no one knows

Not all unsuccessful marriages involve children; but in those that do, the effect on the child is usually pronounced The child who has been raised in a relatively tranquil domestic atmosphere will figuratively be torn apart if parental conflict arises—whether or not that conflict resolves in an actual breaking of the home. It will be recalled that intimate association tends to develop positive identification of one person for another, with the result that the one vicariously shares the experiences of the other. In a relatively happy home the child ordinarily develops such identification† with both parents. Opposition between his parents will, then, place the child in a conflict position He will be positively identified with each of two people who are more or less negatively identified with each other. His positive identification with each necessarily involves negative identification with the other

selves. From then on, until puberty in the case of girls and until marriage in the case of boys, they are allowed to run loose. They have no responsibilities and are not required to enter at all into the life of adults; therefore they play By playing they learn many things, but they do not learn the duties and responsibilities that will be theirs in later years They pay little attention to adults and do not model themselves to any degree upon adult patterns. At maturity they are little more prepared psychologically for adult life than they were at the age of eight Suddenly, the lid is clamped down; they must be adults although they have not learned to behave as adults (M Mead, 1930).

* The ratio of divorces to marriages in the United States has been growing slowly but steadily over the past fifty years See "Recent increases in marriage and divorce" (S. A. Stouffer and L M. Spencer, 1939)

† Ever since the advent of Freudian psychoanalysis the problem of father-son adjustment has been clouded by the Oedipus complex, the notion that the son, jealous of his mother's affections, has a submerged or instinctive desire to kill his father This concept is basic to orthodox psychoanalytic theory (G Roheim, 1932) and has been regarded by the Freudians as a universal phenomenon. It should be noted, however, that the complex does not appear in some societies Malinowski, for example, found that in the Trobriand Island (B Malinowski, 1927), where family authority is vested not in the father but in the mother's eldest brother, whatever hostility exists is directed toward the uncle, not the father The Oedipus complex would thus appear to be based on reactions to authority, not on instinct No doubt Freud was biased by the frequency of the father-son conflicts he encountered in Vienna, where the authority of the father, particularly amongst the orthodox Jews, was very great. In *Studien über Autorität und Familie* (E Fromm, 1936) conclusions similar to those reached by Malinowski are advanced

In lay terminology, he at once loves and hates both his father and his mother. He will frequently be forced to take sides in the marital conflict; but no matter which side he takes, it will be in opposition to his "other interest"

One of the more characteristic consequences of such divided filial allegiance is instability*—vacillation from side to side with resulting indecisiveness. This instability toward his parents is likely to be extended into other aspects of the child's behavior by the division and opposition of parental authority, *e.g.*, what the father represents, advises, and orders will be countermanded by the mother, and vice versa. Under such conditions instability may be the only adequate form of adjustment. But in the world outside the home some degree of decisiveness and persistence is normally necessary for success, and the unstable child will be malprepared for adult life.

When the home is actually broken, the situation may be further complicated by the fact that the child is, in the eyes of the community and, hence, ultimately in his own eyes, atypical. It is still true that the parents of most children live together. This is the normal, as well as what the child has been taught to consider ideal, parental background. The child who has lost one parent through separation, divorce, or desertion may come to feel intensely the contrast between what is and what should be Such contrasts between the real and the ideal not infrequently lead to abnormal forms of behavior, a subject that will be considered in a later chapter.

COMMUNITY DISORGANIZATION

Just as the old family system has disintegrated under the impact of industrialism, so too has the community—the neighborhood, the village, or the farm families within easy traveling radius—which was an integral part of the old social order. The community served as a supplement to the family. It was particularly important to the individual during his youth, guiding him through his adolescence into marriage and occupational maturity. From the community he obtained his bride; in the community he secured his adult employment.

In the modern world the "community" of the individual is usually dispersed, composed of heterogeneous elements, and largely beyond the jurisdiction of the family Thus, when the modern child begins

* The problem behavior of the children of broken homes cannot as a rule be traced directly to the overt delinquencies of the parents (H. A Weeks, 1940) It would seem to be more related to subtle emotional relationships within the family (B Silverman, 1935)

to enter the enlarged world of the youth, his parents can only hope for the best. There is little that they can do to assure that his associates will be "good" for him or that the collective activities of him and his friends will serve as effective training for future marriage and occupational status. There are no integrated and cohesive communities of youths, constantly under adult supervision, for the modern youth to join. He must seek out his associates, and they must together seek out things to do. Most of his activities will be of an order of play that is only a slightly more adult version of the play activities that engrossed him during his childhood Yet it is largely out of such youthful play that he must somehow find his job and his girl and achieve maturity.

The disorganization of the family, plus the disorganization of the community, leave the development of those personality attributes that will be relevant to occupational and marital life quite largely to fortuitous factors. The modern individual is not socially prepared for and guided into his adult responsibilities. He fumbles and stumbles his way into them, and it is no wonder that he makes many mistakes on the way and often fails in the end

Sexual Adjustment.—Prior to adolescence, sex as such will have played little part in the actual adjustments of the child But the child cannot have reached adolescence without having become aware of the existence of sex and having acquired some ideas regarding its nature and what he will do when he "comes of age."

In all the integrated societies some provision is made whereby the child is systematically prepared for sexual maturity and then is guided into the culturally predetermined pattern of sexual adaptation.* In such societies the period of adolescence is not ordinarily one of "storm and strife," as it so often is with us. So general are the psychological troubles of adolescence in our society that, until recently, they were considered a natural and inevitable consequence of sexual development But it would now appear that the flounderings of the adolescent are caused not by sex but by malpreparation for adjustment to sex. Such malpreparation is a fairly common product of the disorganization of family and community life

* Many so-called "primitive" societies have treated sex as a commonplace and have left the adolescent free to select his life companion through socially approved sexual experimentation. In the patriarchal family—the background for our own ideologies of family life—sex was depreciated; and the individual was taught to consider sex life and marriage as synonymous He was then guided into marriage by the elders of the family. For fuller discussion of these opposing systems, see Appendix note 55.

In a wide variety of ways, the growing child, particularly the girl, is taught the ideals of monogamy.* These ideals were appropriate to the system of family life that was in existence a century or two ago, but they are inappropriate today They include stress upon the material and spiritual worth of virginity, the idea that there is one perfect mate, and, in its worst expression, faith in that stereotyped ending to all love stories, "They got married and lived happily ever after."

Opposed to our ideals regarding sex life is our overidealization of the desirability of sexual experience We are, as has frequently been pointed out, a sex-ridden people Directly and indirectly, sex is emphasized in popular literature, in music, and in drama It is the primary topic for most *sub rosa* conversation Sex, therefore, cannot be taken casually as a perfectly normal and to-be-taken-for-granted fact of human life, as it is with many primitives and has been for centuries with the Chinese. For the adolescent, sex is likely to become a focus for preoccupation Thus sexual experience frequently is something that is prohibited until marriage but is greatly to be desired before marriage.

Absolved from the social restraints that prevent the working out of an adequate outlet to the socially stressed need for sex experience, the maturing boy and girl could, through sheer trial and error, attain some sort of adjustment. On the other hand, much the same end would be accomplished were the desirability of sex experiences to be depreciated during youth, since, as has been said, there is no reason to suppose that sex is a physiological "must," the denial of which inevitably results in weird and disturbing complexes.†

Not all the uncertain fumblings of the modern adolescent are, however, even indirectly related to sex Many of the "show-off" activities, much of the semihysterical chatter, and the vacillating preoccupations with this today and that tomorrow are inept attempts to be grown up, to play the social roles of the adult.

Occupational Adjustment.—Most young people arrive more or less unprepared at the age when they are expected to take on responsibility

* A picture of the readjustments made necessary by the clash of two sex ideals—monogamous and polygamous—can be seen in the behaviors of the polygamous Mormons The plural wives particularly felt the conflict (J. E. Hulett, Jr., 1940; and K. Young, 1942).

† For an elementary discussion of the problems of adolescence see *Social psychology of adolescence* (E. DeA Partridge, 1938). For discussions of the social origins of these adjustment problems see "The adolescent world" (E. B. Reuter *et al*, 1936); "Institutional demands" (R G Foster *et al*, 1936), and "The sociology of adolescence" (E B Reuter, 1937) See also Appendix note 53

for their economic welfare. During childhood they have not been learning economically remunerative skills. The boy simply cannot follow his father into the factory, the shop, or the office, there to acquire bit by bit the techniques of the machinist, the salesman, or the accountant. The girl, who in later life will most probably find herself in the occupation of wife and mother, might possibly learn to run a home, to manage a husband, and to take care of children by participation in the work of her mother; but she seldom does In general most of the skills that boys and girls learn have significance for recreational rather than occupational life

The public school, originally presumed to be a substitute for the informal educational functions of family and community, does little to prepare the mass of children in the skills—and still less in the ideals—necessary for occupational adjustment. By and large, our educational system is geared to the production of scholars, scientists, doctors, teachers, and other professionals.* For those who enter the professions, the educational system functions reasonably well. But the vast majority of those who go through the primary and secondary schools cannot, in the nature of things, enter the professions. There is a limit to the number of professionals and so-called "white-collar workers" that a society can support. Someone must fabricate and run our machines, someone must cultivate the soil; someone must wash dishes, cook meals, change diapers.

Most modern youths are not only unprepared to get and hold a job, but are also malprepared. In our society the ambitions of most young people exceed their reasonable expectations.† To the extent that it has effectiveness, the school contributes to this by reinforcing the popular misconception that there is plenty of room at the top Our economic class lines are not clear, and class position is not entirely determined by status at birth. Poor boys do rise to riches, and many of our economic leaders are self-made men But the way up is long

* Our high schools generally make some feeble attempt to provide vocational training, and some cities have special technical high schools where specialized vocational training can be secured. But the vocational-training movement has met with strong resistance on the part of the academicians who control the public-school system and has secured little encouragement from parents. As a result, adequate vocational training is usually obtainable only from private sources at considerable cost to the student and is therefore not available to those who need it most

† The difficulty in coordinating ideals with future realities is shown by a poll taken by G B Gallup (April, 1939) Only 6 per cent of the general public felt themselves to be members of the lower class. Yet many more than that percentage must be "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

and hard; the competition is bitter, and except for a few who have "struck it rich," those who have succeeded have displayed great resourcefulness and exceptional diligence and have foregone much in order that they might achieve this one thing.

Most modern boys and girls, having more or less played their way through childhood and early youth, are likely to feel that their high ambitions will be fulfilled effortlessly, much as a matter of course They are therefore likely to be dismayed by the first impact with harsh reality, and many of them give up the struggle (K Horney, 1937) They must then either become reconciled to the unspectacular and probably dull routine of the work into which they ultimately drift or remain occupationally maladjusted. Whatever may happen in the individual case, it is clear that a large proportion of modern people find their work life irksome and at times unbearable

Marital Adjustment (56).—The child who is brought up in one of the more or less disorganized families of contemporary society will in time become the founder of another. His preparation for this event will probably be no more adequate than is his preparation for getting and holding a job. The procedure by which he arrives at marriage is romantically described as "falling in love" but is more validly characterized as trial-and-error mate selection In this trial and error the bases for judgment are largely irrelevant, and one of the first errors may have to serve as the final solution.

Because the eminently practical aspects of the marital relationship are obscured by romanticism, the "choice" of a wife or husband is far more likely to be made on the basis of appearance, status within the community of youths, manner, and similar irrelevancies, than upon the basis of compatible personality attributes.* It is, therefore, largely a matter of chance whether a particular young man and a particular young woman will be able to make a success of their marriage As has already been said, about two out of five such unions are such bad errors that they are ultimately broken by divorce or desertion

We have seen that the unmarried youth, particularly in our society, has limited responsibilities. He is, because he can be, self-centered Consideration for the welfare of others will be restricted to passing concern with the parental tendency to worry unnecessarily. At marriage, however, self-concern must, if the marriage is to endure, be extended to include the marital partner This means, of course, a modification of many established attributes of personality. It can no

* Detailed description and analysis of the courting procedure in modern society is to be found in *The family a dynamic interpretation* (W. Waller, 1938) and in *Marriage and the family* (R E Baber, 1939).

longer be, "What do I want? What shall I do? What effect will this and that have on me?" Each spouse must make his or her calculations and temper his or her behavior in terms of "we" and "us" There are exceptions, as when one spouse is willingly subservient to the other; but in general the marital adjustment is most easily effected between individuals whose personalities happen to involve similar attributes There is no reason to suppose any inherent advantage in blonds marrying blondes and brunets marrying brunettes; but there is every reason to think that the more comparable the personalities of the bride and groom, the greater is the possibility that each will be able to make the transition from "I" to "we" The heiress and the stable boy may live happily ever after in fiction, in real life they would probably never come to a meeting of minds on much of anything. In the modern world personalities are so diverse and mate selection is so dependent upon irrelevancies that even the most fortunate of matings will demand of each spouse many readjustments if marital harmony is to be achieved (H. V. McLean, 1941).

The articulation of the personalities of the partners to a marriage is, however, but one aspect of marital adjustment. Not only must they learn to get along with each other, but they together must learn to get along with their respective friends, relatives, and acquaintances Conventionally, the honeymoon is a brief period of social irresponsibility during which the bride and groom are free to begin the solution of their own adjustment problems. The honeymoon over, they are expected to behave like sensible and responsible adults. But marriage involves factors that make the satisfactions of social demands difficult in the modern world.

Ordinarily, marriage means a doubling of the number of people to whom each spouse is to some extent obligated—relatives, friends, and acquaintances. When he becomes a husband, the groom also becomes a son-in-law, a brother-in-law, etc., and for many people the "husband of Jane." There may be twice as many family dinners, twice as many relatives and friends ill and in need of comfort, etc , as there were before marriage. At the same time, the married person is less likely than is the unmarried to be excused for not attending the dinner, not calling on poor Aunt Ellen, and not repaying this social obligation and that. A thousand and one responsibilities descend upon the married partners that were unknown to either before their marriage. One of the more important factors determining whether or not they will be able to make their adjustment to the new social status is the compatability of each with the community of the other and of the two communities of relatives, friends, and acquaintances with each other.

The heiress and the stable boy might conceivably work out an adequate adjustment to each other. It is improbable, however, that her community would accept him or that his would accept her. And in the modern world so much is left to chance that marriages not infrequently have something of the stable boy and heiress quality.

RELIGIOUS DISORGANIZATION

Every stable social system has included an organized explanation of final causation. This is a system of verbal abstractions which are used to represent the otherwise incomprehensible forces making for, among other things, the phenomena of life and death.* Around these abstractions the society builds a great complex of beliefs and rituals, and over them it exercises influence through prayers and incantations. Usually, a specialized occupational group—the magic men or priests—serves these abstractions on behalf of the people as a whole. The result is organized religion.

For the group, religion generally functions as a control to keep the individual from deviating too widely from group ways. To the threat of punishment in this life, religion adds the threat of punishment in the future life; to the promise of earthly rewards for good behavior, religion adds the promise of rewards in the hereafter.

Religion serves the individual, also, and in a number of vital ways. It gives an abstract meaning and continuity to his life, comforting him in his disappointments and explaining away his personal failures and sufferings. It helps him in his adjustment to events for which he is unprepared. It is a sort of over-all preparation for his misadventures. Religion also attempts to reconcile the individual to the certainty of eventual death and to make the infirmities of old age but a prelude to the new life. It has been rather contemptuously referred to as the "opiate of the people," a costless substitute for the material necessities of life. But in the integrated society at least, religion may assist the individual to make adjustment to many of the inevitabilities of life.

No other aspect of our old social system has been so thoroughly shattered by the forces of social change as has organized religion. The modern individual is, consequently, unlikely to be equipped with an

* For books bearing on the psychology of religion see *The return to religion* (H. C. Link, 1936a); *Psychology and religious origins* (T. H. Hughes, 1937); *Psychology and the religious quest* (R. B. Cattell, 1938); and the references on the religious aspects of the audience *fanatique* in the last chapter of this text. See also "Scientific method in the study of the psychology of religion" (R. H. Thouless, 1938). A number of articles have been written on the mental-hygiene aspects of religion (K. R. Stolz, 1937; P. Hopkins, 1937; M. E. Kirkpatrick, 1940; E. B. Backus, 1940; and S. Hiltner, 1940).

integrated and unshakable system of religious beliefs. From time to time he will, however, be forced by circumstances to make adjustments for which some system of beliefs is apparently the only adequate preparation.

Bereavement.—However long anticipated, the death of an intimate is never truly prepared for. A husband, anticipating his death, might prepare his wife for that eventuality by insuring his life, establishing a trust fund for her, etc But he cannot completely prepare her, nor can she completely prepare herself, for the vacancy in her life which his death will bring

Bereavement makes necessary two kinds of readjustment In the first place, the loss of an intimate means that all those specific attributes of personality that operated in relations with that person must be allowed to atrophy. In the second place, the loss of an intimate may necessitate the bereaved's taking over responsibilities for which he or she is entirely unprepared. The widow may be forced to assume responsibility for the financial management of the household (or to endeavor to become the provider); she must decide for herself the countless things that her husband formerly decided for her; etc. The widower may be forced by the death of his wife to assume as fully as possible the mother role for his children, a role for which he will, most certainly, be quite unprepared. The youth may be forced by the death of a parent to shoulder adult responsibilities—to become a substitute father or mother for the family * The death of a more distant relative, of a friend, or of an acquaintance will constitute a crisis only to the extent that such a death liquidates some personality attributes and makes necessary the development of others

The integrated social system did not prevent bereavement from being a crisis, but it did cushion the shock and facilitate the process of readjustment. In most systems the community (family, village, tribe, or the like) descended upon the bereaved, he was swept up into a flurry of ritualistic activity and kept so much engaged that he did not have time to think of his loss for a while. By the time he could think, he was too weary to do so, and by the time he had recovered from the prolonged funeral ritual, he had to some degree become accustomed to the absence of the deceased. Furthermore, living as he did in a large and integrated social grouping, the necessary readjustments were not so severe as they usually are today. The widow had her brothers and brothers-in-law who would fill to some extent the role of her late

* For a discussion of the effects on the child's personality of the loss of a parent through death or divorce see "Character and personality of children from broken homes" (N Wallenstein, 1937)

husband, and the large family would provide for her and make unnecessary her taking over the responsibilities that had been her husband's.

More than this, the bereaved was prepared by religion to consider the crisis as something temporary. The deceased was only gone from this life, not just gone. In some believed-in tomorrow and some believed-in hereafter, the wife would join her husband, the husband his wife, the parent his child, etc. Some religions, indeed, have had the spirit of the deceased still living around the house, a situation that might not always have been conducive to the peace of mind of the bereaved.

The consolation value of religious faith should not be underestimated Its importance to individual welfare is revealed by the extremes to which people who have no established faith may go in erecting a belief in a benevolent deity and a life hereafter. The tenacity with which so many moderns cling to such patently absurd pseudoscientific faiths as magic cure-alls for human ills, mental telepathy, palmistry, spiritualism, and so on simply demonstrates how much in need they are of assurance that all will come out right in the end.*

Old Age and Death.—One of the most commonplace, most intense, and certainly most futile endeavors of modern people is their attempt to perpetuate their youth. The legend of the fount of eternal youth is old, but the frantic struggle to stay young is a relatively recent phenomenon. It takes a thousand ever-changing forms, each no more realistic than the others, *e.g.*, hair restorers, skin tighteners, eye brighteners, bust lifters, stomach restrainers, slimming and fattening procedures, pep producers, gland improvers, and so on *ad nauseam.* This struggle to stay young would be amusing were it not so pathetic Pathetic it is, since it indicates an unwillingness to grow old, an unpreparedness to adjust to the physical and social changes that come with the passage of years.

A number of factors have contributed to the worshiping of modern society at the shrine of youth Under conditions of social change the younger members, being more adaptable, are likely to be successful in competition with the less adventurous and less pliant elders Thus older men tend to be displaced from positions of leadership, a fact that puts a premium on youth. Furthermore, the rapid growth of populations which has occurred in Western countries has meant until very recently a more than normal proportion of young people. The

* The extent to which various death rites actually constitute a means of reconciling the living to the fact that they will eventually die is ably indicated in A. M Hocart's article "Death customs" (*Encycl. Soc Sci* , **5**, 21–27).

young have been numerically as well as effectively superior to those in the old-age group. Finally, the disintegration of the family and community organizations has displaced the elders from their former roles as nominal if not actual leaders. As a result, age no longer brings compensations in the way of increasing status. It brings, in fact, a hard bed in the old people's home and an occasional begrudging call from son and daughter, or perhaps the spare bedroom, a place at the family table, and a plea not to be more of a nuisance than necessary; at best, it brings a cottage in the country and the company of other and equally cantankerous "retired" people *

These factors have all helped to lower the status of the aged and thus to make that status something to be avoided just as long as possible. But the factor that perhaps more than any other makes so many modern people reluctant to grow old is that old age is a preface to death, for which they have not been prepared by indoctrination into some system of religious beliefs. In isolated instances, the individual may find death preferable to continued life; but by and large modern people show a reluctance to grow old and die which was not so commonly found in those societies that provided the individual with a firm conviction that death was but a transition to a new and better life.

* See "The study of senescence: psychiatric and sociological aspects" (G Lawton, 1938*a*) and "The social adjustment of 381 recipients of old age allowances" (J K Folsom and C M Morgan, 1937).

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL CHANGE AND MALADJUSTMENT

In the preceding chapter attention was focused on some of the more crucial ways in which the disorganization of our social system may lead to the malpreparation of the individual for his progress through life. The counterpart to social disorganization is continuous social change In this chapter we shall examine some of the more significant consequences to personality of such social change.*

Many of the changes that are constantly occurring in our society are of little moment; the rise and fall in popular dance tunes, the ebb and flow of clothing fashions, and the like are directly significant only to those who make their livelihood by catering to the whims of public taste. Some of the changes are of considerable ultimate significance but occur so slowly that people can keep up with them without much difficulty; this is in general true of the continuing developments in automobile design and production, in housing, in food techniques, and the like. Many of the changes are, however, both so rapid and so significant that they inevitably maladjust a great many people, no matter how well adjusted those people were to the circumstances of life prior to the changes.

SPATIAL MOBILITY

During the past hundred and more years great shifts in population have taken place (D. R Taft, 1936). Here in the United States the effects of this migration have been most profound. Year by year native Americans have been uprooted by one circumstance or another and have moved westward, leaving the relatively settled life of their home communities and entering the rough, harsh, and unsettled life of

* For a listing of forty-four hypotheses to account for social change, see "Some hypotheses concerning social change" (G. Watson, 1941). Some of the more important theories that have been advanced are discussed with great insight in *The problem of social change* (N. L. Sims, 1939) Attempts to predict the social effects of future technological developments are made in the following. "The influence of invention on American social institutions in the future" (W F Ogburn, 1937) and "Technological trends and national policy, including the social implications of new inventions" (Subcommittee on Technology of U.S National Resources Committee, 1937).

the frontier. The difficulties of making an adjustment to the requirements of the new community and the frequent failures to do so have been the theme of many novels, plays, and motion pictures.* This phase of our history would now seem to be over; the west is conquered, and today a New Englander can migrate to the Pacific coast without feeling that he leaves civilization and enters a barbaric world.

But there is still much spatial movement, and spatial movement is always disturbing to some degree; for the migrant leaves some sort of community of people behind and has to adjust himself to some sort of community in the place in which he settles.† Only professional migrants are prepared for migration; all others will be to some degree and for some period unprepared for life in the place to which they have migrated. Anyone who as a child was moved from one neighborhood to another knows how difficult it is to relinquish the status that has been achieved in the old community and to secure a comparable status in the new.

Immigration.—At the same time that Americans by the tens of thousands were moving out over the continent, Europeans by the millions were entering the United States. They were largely people of peasant background and entered mainly into urban, industrial communities here in America The flow has not entirely ceased, although of late years we have called the immigrants refugees,‡ and most have come from a different stratum—urban and professional—of European society.

In general, the older immigrants failed to make the transition from the Old World ways of life to the new They tended to cluster into immigrant colonies and to form little Old World societies within the larger American community Within their colonies they preserved insofar as they could their traditional ways of life § Indeed many of

* For a scientific appraisal of the adjustment problems with which these pioneers were faced, see *Pioneering in the prairie provinces the social side of the settlement process* (C A. Dawson and E R Younge, 1940)

† Even such comparatively minor shifts as that from family and home town to college may produce severe if temporary maladjustments (K Young, N Drought, and J. Bergstresser, 1937).

‡ For a consideration of the adjustment problems of the refugee see "The psychology of the refugee" (G. Saenger, 1940) and "Refugees" (F. J. Brown, ed , 1939)

§ The classic study of the sociopsychological processes and consequences of immigration is *The Polish peasant in Europe and America* (W I Thomas and F. Znaniecki, 1918-1920) See also "Emigrant-immigrant neuroses" (E Harms, 1937) and "Acculturation and personality" (J Gillin and V Raimy, 1940). Among the more recent studies of specific immigrant groups in America are *The Puerto Rican migrant in New York City* (L R Chenault, 1938) and *The Negro*

our European immigrants found it unnecessary to learn even the language of Americans. This is not to say that all or even a majority of immigrants have not been severely maladjusted by being transplanted from the land of their birth to this new one The fact that a large proportion of them have cherished the hope of someday returning to their native country suggests that they have seldom become fully reconciled to their life here.

The Second-generation Immigrant.—But it is the children of immigrants who are most adversely affected by migration Although they themselves do not necessarily move in the spatial sense, they are nevertheless born into one world and later drawn into another During their childhood within the Old World environment of the home and the surrounding foreign colony, they develop their basic personality attributes In later childhood and youth, they venture out into the larger society and discover that all they represent as persons is inferior in the eyes of this richer, more rewarding world. Thus, perhaps for the first time when he first goes to school, the son of the immigrant discovers that he is a Kike, a Wop, a Hunky, or something equally regrettable In some instances he withdraws, insofar as circumstances permit, and endeavors to live out his life in the psychological security of the colony *

In general it would appear that the second-generation immigrant usually is able to take over only the more superficial aspects of American life To him the use of slang, the wearing of modish clothes, the possession of an automobile, and the like constitute being an American † He struggles to achieve these items of distinction and, when he gets them, is baffled by the fact that he is not accepted as an equal

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immigrant, his background, characteristics and social adjustments (I D Reid, 1939) Various aspects of the general problem are discussed in *Our racial and national minorities* (F J Brown and J S Roucek, eds, 1937)

* The arguments in favor of this withdrawal are put forth in literary form in *The island within* (L Lewisohn, 1928). *Up stream* (L. Lewisohn, 1922) portrays the bitterness and futility of trying to become and to gain acceptance as an American.

† The second-generation immigrant is sometimes described as a marginal person to suggest the fact that he is partially attached to each of two societies (E V Stonequist, 1937). This two-way attachment is well shown in *The second-generation Japanese problem* (E K. Strong, Jr, 1934b). See also "Personality in a white-Indian-Negro community" (G B Johnson, 1939).

In some instances the marginal status of the second-generation immigrant would seem to be an important factor in the development of criminal behavior. See, for example, *Brothers in crime* (C. R Shaw et al, 1938) for the case histories of five brothers who were born into a maladjusted immigrant family and who became professional criminals.

within the American community. In the struggle to get them, he is unprepared by past training and at a grave disadvantage because of subnormal opportunities. That his endeavors frequently lead to activities that bring him not into the larger society but into conflict with it is not surprising.

Urbanward Migration.—The movement of peoples from one country to another is one result of the commercial and industrial revolutions and will no doubt continue in one form or another—implemented by agricultural and technological changes, by wars of conquest, by large-scale forced displacements of people, and by the chaos of revolutions—until a balance of peoples and cultures has been reached. Any such migration will inevitably maladjust the migrant and will have repercussions for a generation or two thereafter.

Another form of spatial movement, also traceable to the Industrial Revolution, is at times equally disturbing to those who move. This is urbanward migration, the importance of which is indicated by the tremendous growth of cities in the past hundred years. Only a small part of that growth can be accounted for by natural increase within the city itself. The city is a "consumer" of people who are born in the small town, the village, and the open country.

Although, as we have seen, the cultural differences between country and city are being leveled off by highway, motorcar, newspaper, radio, and, perhaps most significantly, the gathering of rural children into consolidated schools, the country youth is certain to be somewhat malprepared for urban life. This is not to say that he necessarily arrives in the great city in the manner of the old dramatic stereotype—as a country bumpkin, awkward, gawking, and so naive that he promptly makes a down payment on the Brooklyn Bridge—although he might be outwardly the country boy It is more probable, however, that he is sufficiently urbanized to be indistinguishable at first glance from those born and reared in the city But, as was indicated in a previous chapter, there are still some remaining significant differences between rural and urban human nature Thus, however much he may be attracted to the city by its promise of greater economic opportunity, by its excitements, etc.,* the country-bred person is certain to be maladjusted to some if not many of the aspects of urban life.† It is, for example, generally true that rural peoples

* See "Intelligence as a selective factor in rural-urban migrations" (N. P. Gist and C D. Clark, 1938); "Selective migration from small towns" (W. P. Mauldin, 1940); and "Selective migration in a rural Alabama community" (G A. Sanford, 1940)

† See "Urbanism as a way of life" (L Wirth, 1938).

still have relatively large families and retain the beliefs, values, and practices appropriate thereto. Urban circumstances are, however, much less conducive than are rural to large families, and the rural youth who migrates to the city psychologically prepared to have a large family will be maladjusted to the extent that the conditions of city life preclude his doing so

There is reason to think that on the covert levels at least, many modern people are maladjusted to urban life. To put it another way, although the city dominates the contemporary scene, it has been superimposed upon a rural heritage. The nostalgia for the "peace and integrity" of rural society that is expressed—mainly by people born to the city—in literature, poetry, music, and art suggests a considerable discontent with the urban way of life. The preservation of rural mementos—such as Henry Ford's Greenfield Village in Michigan—indicates a sentimental, however impractical, longing for the farm and village.* The sanguine plans of scientists and quasi scientists for the garden city, for the decentralization of industry, etc., reveal how serious is the problem of maladjustment to present urban forms.† Finally, the persistent effort of urban peoples to "get back to the soil," although they may have lived all their lives surrounded by pavements, would seem to suggest that the growth of cities has come about as a matter of material necessity rather than of fundamental desire for the urban way of life.

SOCIOECONOMIC MOBILITY

Spatial movement usually takes the individual from one kind of cultural setting into another kind It does not necessarily imply a significant change in class position. The rural worker, for example, may move to the city to work in industry and remain a member of the laboring class. Socioeconomic movement, on the other hand, is a change in class status; it need not involve any significant change in the place of residence—other than, perhaps, movement from the wrong to the right side of the tracks, or vice versa. As was indicated in a previous chapter, ours is an "open" class system; and social changes constantly make possible the rise and fall of individuals within the

* See *Henry Ford and Greenfield Village* (W. A. Simonds, 1938).

† There is, one may suspect, a good deal of romanticizing about the virtues of the old rural way of life—a pronounced tendency to dwell on the beauty of lush, green fields, the joys of neighborhood gatherings, etc. Generally ignored, perhaps because unknown, are the inadequacies of rural plumbing, the hardships of farming as an occupation, etc. It is quite possible that any concerted ruralward migration would prove just as maladjusting to the people involved as the urbanward movement has been

class structure and periodically modify the status of many or all the members of a given class.

Individual Mobility.—It is always possible in our society for the individual who is born into poverty to die, years later, a person of great wealth, of political eminence, or of scientific attainment. It is equally possible for the individual who is born into wealth and family prominence to die poor and unknown. As a people we are rather proud of the fact that a great many of our financial, political, social, and artistic leaders have been self-made men. We tend to overlook the fact that what can rise can also fall; that, although many strive to rise, most are thwarted in this endeavor; and that any shift in social status maladjusts the individual to some degree (A. Davis, 1941).

The phenomenon of individual mobility and its personal consequences is most strikingly illustrated by the exceptionally rapid rise and fall of motion-picture stars. Because it is always possible for the possessor of a reasonably pretty face to be "discovered," and because the rewards of stardom are apparently great, thousands of reasonably pretty-faced girls flock to Hollywood each year. Of these ambitious girls, the vast majority will suffer disappointment. They will either return home, embarrassed and brokenhearted, or stay on in Hollywood, settling down to the lowly career of extra, waitress, or prostitute. Of the very few who are "discovered," the majority will be eliminated after a brief period of synthetic glory by their own incompetence or by the whims of producers and the public. They will then be forced to make the best they can of the fact that they were "starlets" but never stars. The one or two who do achieve great success will find their positions exceedingly precarious: they have displaced someone else in public favor, and there are many striving to displace them (L. C. Rosten, 1941). With some notable exceptions, the life of a star is at best brief. Hardly will she have adjusted herself to the new role—having acquired a husband, an estate, the proper number of motorcars, etc.—than she will find herself on the way down. Hollywood is, as a consequence, filled with pathetic "has-beens," people who may have made an adequate adjustment to stardom but have been unable to make any adequate adjustment to the role of ex-star.

The personnel turnover in other fields of achievement is slower and less dramatic; but the underlying processes are much the same. The farm boy who becomes the captain of industry because he has acquired a strong ambition and some sorts of skills that make possible success under the conditions of his times will probably not be so severely maladjusted as will the boy or girl who has "shot" to stardom in the motion pictures. But when the son or the grandson of the

captain of industry loses his inheritance because he has not been taught how to maintain it against competition of more energetic, skillful, and calculating men, he will probably be even less prepared for lowly status than will the motion-picture star who has fallen from stardom.

The Nouveau Riche.—Movement up the socioeconomic scale is in general less disturbing than is movement down For one thing, upward movement is socially approved It is the achievement of socially sanctioned personal ambitions For another thing, it usually means a lessening of physical hardships and an increase in the goods and services ministering to physical comfort, *i e.*, better housing, food, clothing, etc Not all those who move rapidly up the socioeconomic scale, however, are prepared to make adequate adjustments to their new roles To be accepted, the *nouveau riche* may need to learn what amounts to a distinctly new way of life. This will involve the abandonment of many old habits—including, perhaps, such practices of the "lower" classes as eating with noisy gusto—and the acquisition of those modes of conduct which are considered appropriate to the man of wealth and position. Any considerable movement up the socioeconomic scale is quite certain to open an unbridgeable gap between what the person is and what he is now supposed to be. The poor boy who becomes the rich man cannot, after all, retrace his steps and acquire those personality attributes which are the product of life in one of our "best" families, Groton, and Harvard Lacking these personality attributes, he is likely, therefore, to be maladjusted in association with those who once were but no longer are his economic superiors.

Success often goes to people's heads; and the person who has become successful without long and serious endeavor on his part (the lucky holder of oil lands, for example) is particularly likely to be disorganized by the opportunities that the new status affords Such is the case with the newly rich man who proceeds to throw his money around so recklessly that it is soon gone Such, too, is the case with the man who, quickly successful in one field of endeavor, gets inflated ideas of his own importance and enters fields for which he is in no way fitted

This latter phenomenon frequently takes the direction of social climbing. The new rich and the new near-rich are perpetually clamoring for social status equal to, if not in excess of, their economic status. The endeavor takes forms that are, from the point of view of the socially elite, gauche. The established elite resent the inroads of the new rich and set up many barriers. What the socially elite would like to have the socially ambitious new rich believe is that

gentlemen and ladies are "born" to their station.* Money does, of course, often make up for lack of "proper" family connections. But financial success not infrequently leads to maladjustment in that it gives the new rich social aspirations that they are unable to achieve.†

The Nouveau Pauvre.—The woman with too many diamonds, too many airs, and a great ambition to crash society may make an amusing character in fiction, if not in real life. But even in fiction those who have recently descended the socioeconomic scale are hardly amusing.

The *nouveau pauvre* is in his own eyes and in those of his former associates a failure.‡ His course has run counter to the established values. It is unlikely that he will, as the *nouveau riche* may, find in the new status compensations for the things that he is now forced to relinquish. Whereas the formerly poor man may not greatly mind abandoning the comfortable practice of eating his meals in the kitchen, the formerly rich man certainly will not be gratified by the fact that he now has to follow it. His loss of status means a contraction of his world; and the people in this smaller world and the things that he must do to survive in it have always been, in his eyes, humble and humiliating

In order to make an adequate adjustment to this smaller and inferior world, the new poor must not only acquire the appropriate personality attributes but, as it were, unlearn those inappropriate attributes that he will have brought with him into the new status Thus, if he was a rich man's son and is now a truck driver, he must learn both to eat hamburgers and to get along without squab, to get along in the company of shopgirls and to do without the company of debutantes, and to get up when the alarm clock rings and to renounce the pleasure of lying abed.

A significant distinction between getting richer and getting poorer is that the former does not impel readjustments, whereas the latter does The man who has risen in economic status could probably go on living much the same sort of life as that to which he is accustomed. Psychological rather than economic factors are usually responsible for the endeavor to achieve a social role appropriate to the new

* For a discussion of the ideological barriers erected against the *nouveau riche*, see "The assumptions of aristocracy" (C. E. Merriam, 1938).

† For a history of social climbing in America see *The saga of American society* (D Wecter, 1937).

‡ In our culture responsibility for failure, economic and otherwise, tends to be attributed to the individual (D. Gandine-Stanton, 1938). But in some primitive cultures, responsibility is attributed to forces outside the individual. Under such circumstances the adjustment is relatively easy, and little or no sense of personal failure appears (L. M. Hanks, 1941)

economic status. But the new poor is forced by economic circumstances to reduce his scale of living and otherwise adjust, however unwillingly, to his new estate

The Liquidated Class.—In the modern world there is always some individual movement up and down the social scale It results in a gradual change in the personnel of each class grouping. Some social changes, however, have their effect not upon isolated members of a class but upon the entire group War and revolution invariably liquidate one or more classes in the population. An economic crisis, such as that which followed the stock-market crash of 1929, will either reduce the membership in the upper economic groups, lower the status of the entire group, or both * Monetary inflation, whether caused by war, revolution, or an economic boom, invariably depresses the status of all those who have fixed incomes

The maladjusting consequences of the lowering of the status of an entire class of people are the same as those which accompany the fall of a single individual, except that the distress of the individuals involved in the former is somewhat tempered by the fact that their friends, relatives, and acquaintances are facing the same adjustment problems Misery does seem to gain some comfort from company, particularly if the company is "respectable" Furthermore, if all of a class are going down, the individual is freed from self-responsibility. He is not a failure; rather, "evil days have fallen on the land." And when an entire population is suffering adversity—as is the case when a nation is engaged in war—all the indexes of status are temporarily reversed One can then be proud of his rags, joke with his guests at the inadequacy of the food he serves them, etc.

Any permanent lowering of socioeconomic status is, however, inevitably distressing It can hardly be consoling to the dispossessed aristocrat, the dispossessed peasant, the disfranchised Jew, etc, to know that many others accompany him into permanent and abject poverty Time after time whole classes in a population have been so suddenly and markedly depressed that they were unable to build a

* For some years following 1929 there was a steady fall in the national income, widespread unemployment, etc No segment of the population escaped the necessity of making more or less profound readjustments. For analyses of some of the more significant effects of this economic catastrophe see *The lost generation* (M. Davis, 1936); *Research memorandum on the family in the depression* (S. A. Stouffer and P. F. Lazarsfeld, 1937), *Research memorandum on minority peoples in the depression* (D. Young, 1937), *Research memorandum on rural life in the depression* (D. Sanderson, 1937); and *Research memorandum on internal migration in the depression* (W S Thompson, 1937)

new way of life compatible with their new economic status * Liquidated aristocracies, for example, have generally given up and become parasitic. The White Russians in China furnish many examples of this parasitic behavior.

The New Elite—Generally, the same events that liquidate one class elevate another In revolution and conquest a new class of leaders dispossesses the old. The aristocrats, priests, and professionals of czarist Russia, for example, were displaced by the bolsheviks Likewise, during 1939–1942, as Germany conquered various European countries, the native economic and political leaders were either replaced by or subordinated to German military, economic, and political masters In other instances, the new elite do not usurp the position of the old but rise, as it were, to fill the position that other forces have made vacant Thus when the great economic crisis of 1929 discredited the former economic and political leaders, the so-called New Dealers simply moved into the leadership position The Eighteenth Amendment (prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages) liquidated by governmental fiat the producers and distributors of alcoholic beverages. Into the vacuum thus created, countless petty criminals (and not a few formerly honest men) swarmed to become a new economic elite—the bootleggers, who were soon organized into vast gangs that ruled the multitudinous vice interests of the United States for a decade or more

Whatever the circumstances that cause its rise, the new elite will be composed of the more ambitious, energetic, and ingenious members of the "lower" classes During any period of really violent turmoil within the class structure, it is always the vigorous, no-hold-barred type of individual who rises to a position of leadership. And for this reason if no other, the members of the new elite no sooner establish themselves as a class than they turn to internecine conflict They are, in other words, extreme "individualists" and are malprepared for membership in a ruling clique The personality attributes that brought them up the social scale preclude their subordinating themselves to group welfare Each must be boss; and in the ensuing struggle one may survive and, dispensing with his competitors, fill the ranks with men of less personal ambition and more loyalty. This is what happened after the Russian Revolution and the death of Lenin; it accounts for the "purge" of the Nazi party after its rise to power; it explains the rapid dispersal of most of the original New Dealers after

* *After freedom the portrait of a community in the deep south* (H Powdermaker, 1939) gives an indirect but vivid picture of the decadence of the upper classes of the South after the Civil War.

1933 Sometimes, however, the struggle within a new elite leads not to the emergence of a single boss but to the breaking up of the new elite into a number of cliques that fight among themselves for leadership The railroad wars of the 1870's and the 1880's were the result of the fact that competition for leadership within the elite was too intense for the welfare of the group as a whole

It is perhaps inevitable that the belligerent and calculating men who rise to the top during periods of social turmoil should be maladjusted when, the new elite established, the time for fighting has passed and the time for coordinated activity has come. Furthermore, each member of the new elite is faced with much the same problems of adjusting to his new status as is the solitary *nouveau riche*—problems that are tempered only by the fact that his peers are also unprepared for their new roles.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

We have seen how difficult adjustment to occupational life can be in the modern world There is, however, no assurance that, when an adjustment has been effected, it can be maintained. Social changes frequently liquidate an occupational group, just as they do a socio-economic class, thereby destroying the economic value of specialized skills and the occupational status that may have taken years to achieve The invention of a new machine, the development of a substitute for an old product, changes in the demand for goods and services, and wars, revolutions, and depressions make most occupations insecure The economists, arguing in favor of technological progress, contend that the new machine opens up more jobs than it closes In the long run this may be true; but it is slight consolation to those who are dispossessed from their occupational niches to know that somewhere, sometime there will be some kind of job open to them. Some inventions (*e g*, mechanization of glass blowing) have displaced thousands of workers in a single year; some events (*e g*, the shift during 1940–1942 of American industry from consumption goods to armaments) have displaced millions.*

Economic Insecurity.—Economic security is a matter of food, clothing, shelter, and the like. A dynamic society gives much to some, little to many, and assurance of continued income to none. In the modern world no man's livelihood is truly secure. However

* A study of the occupational mobility of the citizens of San Jose, California, is described in *Occupational mobility in an American community* (P E. Davidson and H D Anderson, 1937)

competent and conscientious a worker he may be, society may deny him profitable employment. Disequilibrium is an inherent characteristic of our economic system; even the rate of total production of goods and services must be either rising or falling.

One aspect of this perpetual change in our economic life was discussed in terms of individual and class mobility. Another aspect is the fact that every occupational group—working men, professional men, or entrepreneurs—faces the possibility of being liquidated. Moreover, the instability of the economic processes means that many specific jobs (as distinct from trades and crafts) are of short duration. This is most evident in seasonal occupations, such as agricultural harvesting, canning and packing of agricultural produce, and building of houses and other structures, where climatic factors prevent spreading the work throughout the year. The same short-time conditions obtain in such industries as automobile, furniture, clothing, shoe, and many other kinds of manufacturing. Finally, the high mortality of business enterprises means that jobs are constantly being closed because of the inability of the specific organization to continue operations at a profit. Every displacement from an occupation, every drying up of a job, means that a worker and his family have lost their economic security.*

The Occupational Way of Life.—Fairly self-evident are the maladjusting consequences of loss of economic security. Not so apparent, but quite as vital to the individual involved, are the psychological consequences of being displaced from one occupation and forced to seek employment in another one. A man has more than an economic interest in his occupation. He has presumably spent some years learning the skills required by the occupation (even the day laborer has learned to do his heavy but simple tasks), but he has also adjusted himself to the occupational way of life. To shift into another occupation, then, means more than learning the necessary manual or intellectual skills. It means adjusting to another occupational way of life.

As was observed in a previous chapter, each occupation has something of its own peculiar culture. This involves a more or less highly specialized language (the mechanic has his jargon, just as do the physician and the lawyer), a complex of values that are specific to

* Many and varied are the adjustment problems of the unemployed and his dependents. See *Twenty thousand homeless men* (E. H. Sutherland and H. J. Locke, 1936), *Social security* (M. S. Stewart, 1937); *Men without work* (A report made to the Pilgrim Trust, 1938); *Workers on relief* (G. Adams, 1939), *The unemployed worker* (E. W. Bakke, 1940*a*), and *Citizens without work* (E. W. Bakke, 1940*b*).

the occupational group, and a code of conduct by which the relations of the members of the group with one another and the relations of the group with outsiders are more or less effectively governed

Skill in playing an instrument is, for example, but the minimum requirement for employment in a dance band. The professional dance-band musician must have certain personality attributes He must know his history—the history of the notables of jazz. He must believe that true jazz is the ultimate in human achievement and that the "commercial" music he plays for the public is no more than a means to an end He must be willing to endure almost anything—including constant insecurity—for the sake of his "art." He must be rootless, generous with his associates, indifferent to family ties, etc Unless he is all these and countless other rather specific and socially atypical things, he will not be accepted by the established members of the occupation. And he might be an exceptionally skilled instrumentalist; but unless he belongs, he will not for long play his instrument in a dance band (C. Lastrucci, 1941).

The individual who has made an occupational adjustment has, as we have seen, acquired the human-nature attributes of the members of that occupational group and is, therefore, somewhat atypical in terms of society as a whole. When such a man is displaced from his occupation, he is then maladjusted; many of his personality attributes as well as his skills have been liquidated. Under conditions of social change it is inevitable that a significant proportion of the population will be continuously maladjusted by occupational displacement and that from time to time large segments of the population will be so affected.*

* One of the more striking mass displacements occurred with the introduction of talking pictures, circa 1930. This revolutionary development displaced a large part of the silent-picture technicians and most of the more important actors and actresses

Less spectacular but more important was the displacement of the soft-coal operators, which began with the introduction of oil as a household and industrial fuel Theoretically, the coal miners should have gone over to the work of oil-well drilling and operating. Actually, few could make any adjustment to the new conditions, and a generation later the majority were still to be found huddled around the disintegrating collieries

The story of the mass displacement of farmers by a complex of social and climatic factors and the difficulties they encountered in becoming migratory agricultural laborers in California is told in *The grapes of wrath* (J Steinbeck, 1939). For more scientific discussions see *The people of the drought states* (C. Taeuber, I Taeuber, and C. C Taylor, 1937); *Newcomers and nomads in California* (W. T Cross and D. E. Cross, 1937), and "The intelligence of migrants" (O. Klineberg, 1938*b*)

WAR AND REVOLUTION

From time to time during the course of human history the normal, however disordered, processes of life have been disrupted by cataclysmic events. In the older societies these events were mainly of natural origin. flood, fire, crop failure, plague, earthquake, and the like Modern society has developed techniques that can eliminate many natural catastrophes and can prepare people for effective adjustment to others At the same time modern society itself precipitates from time to time cataclysmic events more widespread and more disturbing than any that originate in nature. Modern war, whether of offense or defense, is one such event. Modern revolution is another.

Total War and Total Revolution.—Wars* and revolutions have apparently plagued men since the beginning of human history. But the wars of the relatively stable societies have been clashes of professional soldiers, men trained to conflict and more distressed by prolonged peace than by war. The civilian populations of the past have been affected only indirectly by such wars—except, of course, when their homelands served as battlefields In the modern world, however, war is increasingly a phenomenon engulfing and disturbing, if not destroying, the entire population. The total population and its total energies are thrown or forced into the conflict.† All peacetime activities are disrupted; every man, woman, and child is affected. This is true even when the population is not subjected to the violence of bombing, of mass slaughter, or of being driven from place to place Because modern war involves an ever-increasing use of machines, a society at war will necessarily shift its industrial resources to produce destruction instead of consumption goods. There was a time when a country could send an army off to war and then quietly await results Today it must root every citizen out of his peacetime rut and make him a participant ‡

* For several rather diverse views of the causes of war see *Personal aggressiveness and war* (E F. M Durbin and J. Bowlby, 1939); "The causes and the prevention of war" (K. Dunlap, 1940*a*), and "Psychological causes of war" (R. Stagner, 1941*a*)

† For a definition of total war see "Class structure and 'total war'" (H Speier, 1939)

‡ The January, 1941, issue of *The American Journal of Sociology* is devoted to [illegible] by sociologists, anthropologists, and others on the subject of war and its effects Although none of the articles is focused on the sociopsychological [illegible] of war, they will provide useful background reading.

Some indication of the vast and varied consequences of war to the individual [illegible] secured from *War in the twentieth century* (W Waller, ed , 1940*a*) The [illegible] of war on the family is described in *War and the family* (W Waller, 1940*b*)

Much the same thing can be said of revolution The relatively stable societies had, perhaps, their "revolutions." But these were at most "palace" revolts, shifts in the personnel of the established leadership clique. The mass of the people were largely undisturbed by such events Modern revolutions, on the other hand, are a phenomenon of social disorganization. They are an explosion of the tensions generated by the maladjustments of a large number of individuals in the population.* In one sense, they are collective attempts to change the conditions that have made for widespread discontent; but they will surely cause, in the short run at least, more maladjustments than they can possibly cure

Limited revolutions, usually spoken of as social movements, do not involve armed conflict and affect only a limited part of the population. The Townsend movement (for old-age pensions), for example, gave false hope only to impoverished oldsters The majority of the American people were not significantly disturbed by it Violent revolutions involving armed conflict, on the other hand, are, like international wars, now "total"

Effects of Total War and Revolution.—War and revolution intensify all the forms of malpreparation that were discussed in the previous chapter and all the forms of maladjustment that have been discussed in this. Thus, the bereavement rate is increased manyfold; there are more widows, widowers, parentless children, etc Economic insecurity and occupational mobility are increased, the problems of adolescent adjustment are intensified; the aged become even more of a burden than usual, etc. But in addition to intensifying the normal forms of malpreparation and maladjustment, such conflict imposes some special forms of its own. Only the professional soldier has been trained to warfare; only the professional revolutionary has been brought up in the tradition of internal chaos. All the rest of the population have been more or less effectively prepared to live out their lives under the sufficiently eventful conditions of peace

The immediate special effects upon a people of a war or revolution are fairly evident, however varied and complex They range from

and "War and the family" (J. H S Bossard, 1941). See also *The psychology of fear and courage* (E. Glover, 1940), *A psychologist's war-time diary* (A. Weymouth, 1940); "The development of war" (R. E Money-Kyrle, 1937); *Psychological aspects of war and peace* (R Waelder, 1939), and "The causes of war" (M Ginsberg, 1939) A survey of German efforts at inducing wartime morale is given in *German psychological warfare survey and bibliography* (L. Farago and L F Gittler, eds , 1941)

* The conditions making for and the processes involved in revolutionary upheaval will be discussed in Chapter XXI

unprecedented danger of violent death to the lesser irritation of food and other rationing, and from exhausting demands upon time and energy to the distasteful presence of victorious conquerors in the streets The long-run effects are equally varied and complex but are somewhat less apparent. They arise from the disruption of the individual's normal (*i.e.*, anticipated) life history. How such disruption causes prolonged and multifarious maladjustment may be suggested by the effect of war upon the career of the person who is conscripted into the military service.*

Whereas the professional soldier makes a career of military life, the conscript is torn out of his social context. All his normal expectations are interrupted; and, if he survives, he is returned to a "different" society and as a different sort of person As war becomes increasingly "total," everyone is torn thereby from his normal social role and returned, if ever, to find himself and his role considerably altered.

Man is, however, an exceedingly tenacious creature He may at a given moment despair of finding continued life tolerable; but he usually recovers to go on and meet successive and equally discouraging moments This tenacity of the individual is reflected in the fact that no social system, however disorganized, however battered by war or by revolution, actually collapses.

Greek civilization, for example, did not "die" from internal disintegration and external assault, as a man may die when his heart is punctured Rather, it declined, as a man does toward the end of his life span

During periods of acute crisis people are prone to forecast the end of civilization, the imminent collapse of society, etc But in point of historical fact the processes of social change are relatively slow and are always continuous.

* For studies of wartime psychopathies see "Psychoneuroses and other mental conditions arising out of the war" (R. D Gillespie, 1941) and "Psychoneuroses in wartime" (E. G. Zabriske and A L Brush, 1941).

CHAPTER XV

SOCIALLY ATYPICAL PATTERNS OF ADJUSTMENT

Life does not run smoothly in the disorganized and ever-changing modern world. But most "spoiled brats" become reasonably subdued in the course of time, most adolescents settle down to marriage and a job; and most *nouveaux riches* and *nouveaux pauvres* live out their normal life spans The processes of adjustment are always painful, and complete adjustment is seldom achieved. Nevertheless, these processes do tend to resolve in the establishment of fairly typical patterns of life adjustment Not yet can it be said, for example, that most marriages are failures, that most men are out of work, that most people give up the endeavor to adjust to social reality and escape into insanity

It is more or less typical for the modern youth to arrive eventually at a heterosexual form of adjustment to sex, to stabilize his relations with members of the other sex through marriage, and to secure his livelihood by participation in some socially sanctioned occupation. What is typical for our society is, of course, vague and shifting But, obviously, *unless there were something of a norm, there would be nothing of a society.*

Atypical Adjustments.—Marked peculiarities of individual experience, however, result in adjustments that deviate so far from the typical as to cause the individual to stand out in striking contrast to his fellows. Those who fail to make a heterosexual adjustment to the problems of sex life, those who are so badly malprepared for marital adjustment that they never succeed in marrying, those who have been prepared to make their livelihood only in antilegal ways, those who have failed to make any occupational adjustment and have turned to the life of the open road, etc., are people who are atypical * Although the norms of modern society are somewhat vague and always shifting, they are the culturally designated standards of effective adjustment The atypical is simply one who, as a consequence of peculiar life experiences, has arrived at a mode of adjustment that is at such wide variance with the cultural standard that he is treated in some exceptional manner by society. Atypicality is of many orders and degrees,

* A wide variety of terms are in use as synonyms for "atypical" See, for example, "A la recherche de la norme en psychopathologie" (E. Minkowski, 1938)

but all atypical individuals can be divided into those who have been socially trained for atypicality and those who have been socially prepared for a normal life adjustment and have become atypical because of subsequent events

The Atypical and the Maladjusted.—It will be recalled that analysis of the personality attributes of an individual is always complicated by the fact that any action is a product of two variables: the individual's personality and the situation in which it operates The question arises, then, whether the personality or the situation is primarily responsible for any specific act. As we have seen, one cannot, for example, tell from the fact that Jones is surly at breakfast with Mrs Jones whether Jones is characteristically surly or whether it is Mrs. Jones who has made him surly.

In analyzing atypical modes of adjustment we must constantly keep in mind the distinction between the act that is a direct and consistent expression of the personality attributes of the individual and the act that is provoked by a peculiar and perhaps unprecedented combination of external circumstances. This is, in brief, the distinction between the man who regularly steals to make his livelihood and the man who one day steals because his children are starving. When the atypical act is a consequence of prolonged and consistent atypical training and atypicality is therefore imbedded in the nature of the individual, we are dealing with a truly atypical personality The atypicality of such an individual may be described as habitual or inveterate, and the individual is often referred to as a professional—a professional criminal, a professional bachelor, a professional tramp, etc

When the atypical act is mainly a consequence of peculiar circumstances, it is not a normal expression of the personality. Thus the man who steals only in an attempt to resolve an unprecedented predicament is inadequately prepared for stealing and its consequences He is, as it were, "choosing" the lesser of what seem to him two evils Theft makes him, by social definition and thus probably in his own eyes, a criminal. By acquiring, if only in his own eyes, the status of a criminal, he becomes maladjusted He is not only at odds with society but at odds with himself

The distinction between the atypical and the maladjusted personality is a vital one An atypical adjustment, although inadequate in terms of society, may be almost the only one that is possible in terms of the personality of the individual plus the social situation The atypical is a round peg in a square hole, but his life has had such continuity and the things that he has learned from social experience are so compatible that, although his personality deviates markedly from

the social norm, it is reasonably symmetrical The maladjusted person, on the other hand, has violated his prior training. Whereas the professional thief is completely complacent about his atypical behavior, the amateur thief is not, and whereas the former may end up in jail, the latter is at least as likely to end up in a psychopathic institution.

Although it is an oversimplification of reality to speak of types of atypical personalities, we can, for convenience, focalize attention upon some of the more characteristic forms of atypical behavior manifest in contemporary society.* There is perhaps no such thing as a typical criminal, although both the police and the mystery-story writers resort to the stereotyping process in speaking of the typical gangster, the "big shot," the killer, the confidence man, etc. But it is true that, however divergent, the behavior of all criminals, professional and amateur, is alike in that it brings them into conflict with our social ideas of personal and property rights.

THE CRIMINAL

The criminal has at various times been looked upon as one possessed of an evil spirit, as one who consciously and willfully sins against the laws of God, and as one who is a victim of natural forces Historical contrast can be seen in the fact that the Chinese blamed the wrongdoings of a man upon his parents, that medievalists blamed them upon Satan, and that Lombroso and other physiognomists tried to find a correlation between the antisocial behavior of a man and the contours of his face or the bumps on his head. Efforts have also been made to relate the frequency of crime to such natural variables as climate and seasonal changes in the weather. Thus the fact that crimes against persons are more frequent in Mediterranean countries, whereas crimes against property predominate in northern European countries has been explained as a consequence of climatic variation The relation of this idea to Montesquieu's theory of climatic determination of human nature is obvious.

Extreme Views Concerning the Criminal Personality.—At present, there are two extreme views of the criminal personality and of the treatment that should be accorded him Many of those who deal with criminals—police, judiciary, and institutional personnel—take the attitude that criminals cause crime and that it is, therefore, only by exterminating or permanently incarcerating the criminal that

* It should be observed that the standard for typical adjustment (previously described as human nature) is set by society and is subject to change. As a result, that complex of personality attributes which today is an atypical adjustment might be typical under other social conditions See "Psychopathic trends in culture" (B W. Aginsky, 1939).

crime can be stamped out. Those who hold this view usually assume that the behavior of the criminal is an automatic consequence of some innate attribute, such as subnormal intelligence* or an "instinct" for crime. Holding the opposite view are the sentimentalists, who see the criminal as a victim of circumstances—one who means well, but who has been forced by society to do wrong. They would appeal to his better nature, show him the error of his ways, and then send him out to sin again.

Between these extreme views is one that has gradually come to be accepted as valid by the more careful students of criminology and one that would appear to follow from our present sociopsychological concept of the origins of human behavior. Although based upon a mistaken idea of cause, the hard-boiled view of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of modifying the criminal personality is valid insofar as the professional criminal is concerned. With our present training methods, there would seem to be little possibility of reforming him; and if society finds his behavior dangerous or expensive, he had best be disposed of. It does not follow, however, that if all the criminals in the United States were apprehended and promptly removed from action, crime would cease There is partial validity in the sentimental view; criminals are, in every sense, victims of social circumstances. Until the circumstances that breed criminal behavior are wiped out, disposing of criminals is much like killing mosquitoes. New ones come to take the place of those who have been removed from action.

The Sociopsychological Definition.—The criminal† is an antisocial person, but many who are antisocial are not criminals. By legal definition, a criminal is one who has been convicted of committing a

* Intelligence as measured by group tests of the Army Alpha type has been found to vary considerably among various sorts of criminals Inmates of workhouses and county jails usually make the lowest scores, and those in the state and Federal prisons the highest In several instances, the average intelligence of a prison population has been found to be higher than that of the guards. Apparently there is some correlation between the intelligence of the criminal and the type of crime he commits, but that crime is caused by low intelligence does not follow. See *Criminal intelligence* (C Murchison, 1926) and *Intelligence and crime* (S H Tulchin, 1939)

† For case studies and discussions of the adult criminal personality see. *500 criminal careers* (S. Glueck and E. Glueck, 1930), *The personality of criminals* (A W Stearns, 1931), *Criminology* (R H. Gault, 1932), *An introduction to criminology* (W. A. Bonger, 1936); *Later criminal careers* (S Glueck and E. Glueck, 1937), *Crime and the community* (F Tannenbaum, 1938), *Principles of criminology* (E H. Sutherland, 1939); *Criminal behavior* (W. C Reckless, 1940), and *Crime and its treatment social and legal aspects of criminology* (A. E Wood and J. B. Waite, 1941)

felony. Frequently, however, a man who breaks vital laws, such as those against murder, is not apprehended; or, if he is caught, he may escape conviction. Furthermore, by legal fiat, a whole new class of criminals may be created; thus the legal definition of the criminal has none but legal significance.

For our purposes, a criminal is one who behaves in a way that is so contrary to those mores of his society that have to do with rights of persons or of property that, if the act were known to the members of the community, he would be considered a hazard to its welfare. The fact that he does not get caught does not keep the thief from being a criminal in the sociopsychological sense. On the other hand, the fact that a man suddenly becomes a criminal by legal fiat does not make him a criminal in the sociopsychological sense In a changing society such as ours the line between the criminal and noncriminal is a vague and shifting one. In the stabler societies the distinction was reasonably clear

The Inveterate or Habitual Criminal.—Perhaps since time immemorial, there have been certain minority groups who have lived parasitically upon the larger community through resort to force These are the brigands of history—not to be confused with those members of the majority group who, although living parasitically, do so in accordance with the conventions of the community. The brigands have been recognized as enemies and ordinarily have not lived within the community, but have stayed perhaps in the inaccessible hills, venturing forth only for an occasional raid. Their way of securing a livelihood has been typical for their in-group but atypical in terms of the larger community. They have considered all except the members of their in-group natural prey. To the larger community they have appeared as habitual criminals.

There is no essential distinction between the brigands of old and the professional criminals of today, except that the latter breed in the slum regions within the larger community instead of the distant hills and are less easily identified as enemies of society. Like the brigands, our professional or habitual criminals are men and women who have been trained into modes of behavior that are in marked contrast to the ways of the larger community and that make them antisocial parasites They do not—as has frequently been claimed—lack socially determined principles of conduct They, like noncriminals, have attitudes, values, interests, conventions, mannerisms, and morals;* but

* See *The professional thief by a professional thief* (E H. Sutherland, ed., 1937)

these take a form of expression at sharp variance with the ways of the majority

The criminal personality is shaped by the same kinds of forces and processes that develop that of the noncriminal The boy whose parents, parental associates, or play gang are antisocial simply takes over the patterns of their behavior, becomes a member of their in group, and, in so doing, achieves the status of a criminal within the larger community.* Members of the so-called "underworld" are of course divided into classes—fully as class conscious as those of the larger community—and into specialized work groups In some respects, the underworld of our modern cities is more thoroughly organized than is the rest of the city population.

The habitual criminal may have no sense of wrongdoing so far as society is concerned, for it is an aspect of his human nature that he accepts the philosophy of the underworld He considers honest labor repulsive—something for fools to do. He has special technical skills and knowledge, peculiar in-group loyalties and codes of conduct, and his own argot, superstitions, beliefs, etc. But the criminal is also an individual, and there is probably as much individuality among criminals as among the noncriminal members of society. Some are leaders, others followers. Some are skillful, others crude. Some are parsimonious, others spendthrifts. Some are ambitious, and others content just to "get by." It is, in fact, frequently because of some individual idiosyncrasy that a criminal is apprehended.†

The Incidental or Fortuitous Criminal.—Not all crimes are committed by habitual criminals. The man who steals a loaf of bread may do so because he is hungry. Finding no other means of getting food, he steals in spite of his early training. He is a criminal, not because of the character of his personality, but because the situation is one that in a sense forces him to act in this antisocial way We

* There is no single road to crime It is true that many criminals have as children lived in cramped quarters in an unsavory location, lacked proper playground facilities, had quarrelsome or foreign-born parents or a broken home, gone nightly to the movies, had bad associates, etc. But no one of these or any other factor by itself is guaranteed to induce delinquency Thus only a small percentage of slum children become delinquent or criminal, and the vast majority of the second generation become respectable citizens

† The police, for example, generally know all the apartment-house burglars—a specialized group—in the community. When an apartment is robbed, the problem, assuming it is a professional job, is to find out which one of the specialists did it and then to secure his conviction Not infrequently such a man follows his own individual pattern in doing the job and can be identified by the clues he leaves behind Apprehending the man is seldom difficult, securing a conviction is usually the major problem

usually refer to action arising under such circumstances as the result of temptation. It would appear that there is some truth in the contention that every man has his price. Although a man has been trained into the mores of his community, pronounced changes in his status may lead him to commit antisocial acts in a trial-and-error attempt to reestablish himself at his old social level. Such is the case with the man who, having lost his job and being unable to secure another, resorts to theft or even murder in order to obtain the necessities of life

Changes in external conditions do not, however, of themselves cause criminal behavior; that behavior is a consequence of the interaction of a personality and a situation Some men would starve rather than steal; others are not so well prepared to resist temptation The person who has been defeated in an intense and lifelong ambition to achieve financial or social success by honest labor may in desperation resort to antisocial methods. More complex, and perhaps more frequent, is the case of the person who is faced with the alternative of committing a crime or of losing something he values above his social integrity * Embezzlement is commonly a consequence of this sort of situation. Then there are the typical crimes of person against person —rape, assault, and murder. The jealous husband may in a moment of rage kill his wife. Except in the case of rape, there is a tendency to make a judicial distinction between those crimes of violence that are a means to an end—such as murder with the object of securing money—and those that are, in a manner of speaking, an end in themselves—such as killing the seducer of a wife.

Other than separating the old from the young and the first-timers from the recidivists, there is little effort in the United States or elsewhere to segregate and administer differential treatment to habitual and to nonhabitual criminals The more enlightened judge attempts to mete out punishment fitting to the criminal rather than to the crime Some effort has been made to establish a legal method of recognizing and permanently removing the professional criminal from society. It is probably true that local police forces, when they are not involved with the underworld, frequently resort to extralegal methods of solving the professional crime problem. But the amateur criminal, when caught, is often forced by the way he is treated to drift into the professional class. The man who has stolen as a result of necessity is in a much worse position to secure an honest livelihood after discharge from prison than he was before he committed the theft Moreover, with the exception of juveniles there is little con-

* See "White-collar criminality" (E H. Sutherland. 1940).

certed effort on the part of society to change the conditions that breed professional criminals.

The Juvenile Delinquent as a Potential Criminal.—In the past youthful offenders have often been treated exactly like adult criminals; but in recent years there has developed, particularly in the United States, the practice of treating the juvenile delinquent as a potential rather than an actual criminal He is handled as an object requiring social care rather than as one upon whom society should wreak its vengeance In keeping with this concept, separate courts, social agencies, and reformatories have been established for juvenile delinquents Since experience with reformatories has not always been encouraging, in some communities an effort is made to change the physical and social environment of the delinquent by placing him in a socially adequate foster home Some attempt is being made in the large cities to break up antisocial boy gangs by providing facilities for socially desirable gang play under adequate adult supervision. The establishment of public playgrounds, gymnasiums, boys' clubs, and the like is based upon the realization that the formation of antisocial gangs can be discouraged only by provision of more attractive substitutes.

The boy delinquent is a potential adult criminal of the professional type (57). If he can be uprooted from the social conditions that are molding him into an antisocial pattern and be transplanted to more normal surroundings, he can often be brought into line with the larger community The girl delinquent, on the other hand, frequently presents a far more difficult problem. Whereas the boy delinquent can often be detected and removed from antisocial influences long before he becomes habitually atypical, the girl, whose antisocial behavior is seldom traceable to some such obvious factor as membership in a gang, is not usually recognized as a delinquent before it is too late The delinquency of girls frequently takes the form of breaking our sex mores, and the girl delinquent is often apprehended only because of pregnancy No matter how intelligently and sympathetically she is treated as an unmarried mother, she usually feels that reestablishment upon a normal level cannot be achieved and drifts into prostitution or joins the underworld as a gangster's moll

THE PROSTITUTE

Sex promiscuity is in some societies entirely normal for the members of both sexes before marriage and therefore cannot of itself be considered as a form of atypical behavior But in any society where men are permitted a degree of sexual freedom that is not allowed women—where the so-called "double standard" of morality exists—

there is necessarily present a class of women who are sexually atypical. Theirs is the occupation of prostitution,* which at times has been economically and even socially recognized, at other times subjected to economic and political exploitation.

Prostitutes today are socially atypical only in the sense that their occupation is one that excludes them from normal participation in social life. However necessary to society, the prostitute usually receives social disapproval and is therefore a member of an out-group She is tolerated and used, only to be discarded in contempt when her function as a prostitute is over. Society may feel some sense of social responsibility for the welfare of the aged and feeble scullery maid, but it will likely force the ex-prostitute to shift for herself † The ignominious status of the prostitute is seen in the fact that, although ordinarily a man publicly recognizes and treats with consideration a shopgirl in his employ, his relations with a prostitute seldom exceed those of a sexual-economic order

The prostitute, however, has not always been *déclassée* In certain periods of history and under certain conditions the beautiful and clever prostitute has had an enviable social and economic status. In Greece, her position was surrounded with an aura of religious mysticism; and she had certain prerogatives denied all others In later Rome, she often had considerable prestige and political power. Even in the early days of San Francisco, she plied her trade openly and occasionally rose to a position of prominence in the life of the city. Practically all the romantic poetry of classical China was written to and about prostitutes They were considered intellectual and social as well as sexual companions In the exceptional case where filiality did not determine marriage, a wealthy Chinese might select his wife from prostitutes of a large city.

* Forced prostitution, so-called "white slavery," probably plays a small part in the recruiting of prostitutes In contrast to such popular but unrealistic approaches to the problem of prostitution as are found in the treatise *The oldest profession in the world* (W. J. Robinson, 1929) should be set such undramatic but realistic examinations of the subject as G May's article "Prostitution" (*Encycl Soc Sci*, 12, 553–559); *Prostitution in the United States* (H B Woolston, 1921); *Five hundred delinquent women* (S Glueck and E. Glueck, 1934*b*), *Prostitution* (T. Kemp, 1936); "The sociology of prostitution" (K. Davis, 1937); *Prostitutes: their early lives* (League of Nations Advisory Committee on Social Questions, 1938), and *Designs in scarlet* (C. R. Cooper, 1939).

† Although commonly condoned by local government, the existence of prostitution is, like the trade of housebreaking, ignored by the U S. Census Bureau in its Census of Occupations Prostitutes are not, furthermore, covered by the Social Security Act, nor has there been any attempt to bring this occupational group into the protection provided by this act.

The fact that, in any society, prostitutes form a sort of society within a society and have, like the criminal class with whom they are frequently associated, something of their own customs, conventions, and mores has led to their being spoken of as a profession—the "oldest" profession in history The young novice is put through a period of training, during which she acquires not only the techniques of her occupation but also the personality attributes of this minority group *

The Professional versus the Amateur.—Some prostitutes have fallen into the occupation because it seemed to offer them the only means of securing a livelihood. In times of economic stress, the number of girls and women who resort to this means of earning a living always increases The economic stresses and the social dislocations of a period of war or revolution invariably cause many girls who would otherwise marry or else earn their livelihood in socially sanctioned occupations to enter prostitution. At such times the established prostitutes complain bitterly that their business is being ruined by the amateurs

The true professional enters the occupation as a normal consequence of her early training; she has been brought up into a pattern of behavior that fits her for the life. Such atypical training may be a consequence of the inferior character of her family situation. More often, perhaps, the home has been respectable but inadequate; and influences outside it have molded her into that pattern It has been said that many enter the occupation without any feeling of regret but with the ambition to be successful. The amateur prostitute, on the other hand, is psychologically ill fitted for the occupation. Prostitution is for her a desperate last resort and may be in such contrast to her life preparation that she eventually becomes psychopathic.

The use of sex as an economic commodity is not of itself extremely unusual, for the numerous women who marry for money really sell their sex services Neither is sexual promiscuity necessarily evidence of atypicality In some societies all unmarried women are somewhat promiscuous, and in others some few women are entirely promiscuous Whether sex promiscuity and the sale of sexual services, both of which are characteristic of the prostitute, will constitute social atypicality depends, therefore, upon the particular forms they take and upon the reaction of society to those forms. The professional prostitute in our

* From the fact that they have no argot of their own, Maurer concludes in "Prostitutes and criminal argots" (D W. Maurer, 1939) that prostitutes do not constitute an occupational in-group. If so, they are the only class of professional atypicals who do not

present society is atypical in that her occupation involves social disapproval and invokes persecution from agencies of the larger society

THE SEX PERVERT

In a sense, the professional prostitute is sexually perverted; for she generally receives her gratification for the sex act indirectly, through the medium of money * But if sexual action devoid of sexual gratification were to be classified as sex perversion, this category would be expanded far beyond its conventional limits In our society at least, a considerable number of otherwise normal women submit but do not respond to the sexual advances of their husbands The sexually cold woman or man is, of course, atypical, since the normal is that of sex responsiveness of a heterosexual order We need not analyze here the social antecedents or individual consequences of sexual coldness. Undoubtedly it is very common in our society, particularly among women.† Occasionally, no doubt, a normally adjusted person may become unresponsive to sexual stimulation as the result of a single unfortunate experience with sexual activity Both the unfortunate victim of circumstances and the extreme puritan who never feels deprived of desirable sex gratification are sexually abnormal, but it is not conventional to speak of them as perverts As with other forms of atypical behavior, it is the society that defines the sexually atypical personality; and the term "sex pervert" is usually reserved for those who are sexually responsive but are so in an unconventional manner or to unconventional objects The sex pervert is one who prefers to find sexual gratification through autosexual practices, the homosexual relationship, or some such extraordinary method as zoerasty.

The Autosexual.—Masturbation,‡ although practically unknown among those primitives who allow adolescents sexual freedom, is

* The professonal prostitute is often attached to a pimp, who serves as her business manager and lover Perhaps she will have sexually gratifying experience with him

† In our culture approximately one woman in three fails to achieve orgasm This ratio seems to have held constant for many years See *Psychological factors in marital happiness* (L. M Terman *et al.*, 1938) and "Correlates of woman's orgasm" (L W Ferguson, 1938*a*).

‡ Masturbation has sometimes been termed self-love and included under the broader heading "narcissism," which also embraces love of one's own personality. Quite obviously much masturbation is not self-love at all but is, rather, lust for some absent person. See *A study of masturbation and the psychosexual life* (J. F Meagher, 1936) and "Masturbation as a mental hygiene problem" (E. V. Pullias, 1937)

generally recognized as prevalent among both boys and girls in our society It appears most often as a temporary adjustment to sex maturity; it is also resorted to when no other is permitted or possible Often this practice is arrived at by socially undirected trial and error Traditionally it has been believed to be morally and physically degrading, and discovery usually involves social disapprobation. Certainly the heterosexual outlet is the biologically normal one; but even the lower animals sometimes indulge in autosexual practices when long denied sexual mates. There is no evidence to show that such practices necessarily dull sexual capacity, as medical men once believed, or invariably preclude attainment of a normal heterosexual adjustment

The Homosexual.—The homosexual or invert is one who finds sexual gratification through association with members of his or her own sex. In later Greece and Rome the practice was so common that homosexual prostitution existed openly; effeminate men were available for men, masculine women for women The practice of homosexuality was considered more exotic than aberrant Although with us it is strongly disapproved, the number of homosexuals is considerable. Once thought to be inevitably a consequence of some physiological abnormality, it is now believed by many to be largely an outcome either of unconventional sexual training or of social necessity.* The former circumstances produce the orthodox homosexual; the latter, the lay or fortuitous homosexual.

Social Backgrounds of Homosexuality.—Although there may at times be anatomical or physiological reasons for homosexual behavior, at least a significant part is socially determined. In old China, for example, small boys were deliberately trained to take the part and place of women in the theater and in sex life In our society the social circumstances that make for such a personality development are largely accidental. Certain types of early life conditions may encourage a boy to develop personality attributes usually associated with girls He may find at adolescence that his group identification is so largely with girls that, rather than feeling sexually attracted to them, he is attracted to those of his own sex. His adjustment to sex there-

* The body build of the homosexual is sometimes quite masculine (J Wortis, 1937) and sometimes of an intersexual type (H. S Barahal, 1939) Some believe that endocrinological factors play a large role in all homosexuality (S Kahn, 1937, and C A Wright, 1939); others believe that it is not at all an organic condition (H S. Barahal, 1939) At any event, it would be impossible to explain such phenomena as widespread homosexuality in prisons in any but social terms. See also "Homosexual trends in children" (L Bender and S Paster, 1941) For an alleged statistical proof that the homosexual is a genetic type, see "Zur Genealogie der Homosexualitat" (K Jensch, 1941).

fore takes the homosexual pattern, since it is not superimposed upon the heterosexual pattern, he is an orthodox homosexual

The personality of the orthodox homosexual, particularly the male homosexual, is often quite distinctive Oscar Wilde is likely to be his patron saint; and his interests are likely to run to clothes, art (notably terpsichorean), and other things usually associated with the personality of a female. The man who in the sex act takes the part of the female may go so far in assuming the role of a woman as to dress like one (A. Masson, 1935) Within any community, orthodox homosexuals tend to form their own social clique and are often quite indifferent to or even proud of the social disapprobation that they incur

The background of the incidental or amateur homosexual is quite different from that of the orthodox Under duress, the man or woman who once was accustomed to normal sex life but has long been denied heterosexual relationship may, in spite of a feeling of aversion to it, resort to that of a homosexual order Homosexuality of this origin is very common in prisons and in other places where men and women are segregated In those prisons where homosexual prostitution has developed, orthodox homosexuals serve as prostitutes for other inmates If no money is in circulation, flattery, choice morsels of food, clothes, and other things are used to secure the services of the "woman" or, in the women's wards, of the "man"*

THE CELIBATE

Social Antecedents of Sexual Abstinence.—In medieval Europe, as in some other times and places, certain men and women entered religious groups in which the vows of celibacy and chastity were taken. Theoretically at least, they went through life without experiencing normal sexual behavior Some, no doubt, entered this life as refugees, finding in its security a compensation for the things they had renounced, others were trained by their parents for the priesthood or brotherhood. The members of such religious orders are orthodox celibates † But the individual who throughout life remains

* Gradually we are seeing the folly of suppressing all normal sex outlets among prisoners; and, in certain countries, an attempt is being made to direct the prisoner's sex behavior into adequate channels (J. F Fishman, 1934). Nelson contends (V F Nelson, 1933) that practically all men, even those who were normally adjusted in regard to sex when they entered prison, eventually resort to either masturbation or homosexual practices See also "The mind of the prisoner" (J. S. Roucek, 1937)

† For an excellent description of the human-nature attributes of the members of various priesthoods, both primitive and modern, see A Bertholet's article "Priesthood" (*Encycl. Soc. Sci*, **12**, 388–395). Not all priesthoods require celibacy and

unmarried without securing adequate social compensations is a celibate of an amateur order and is quite likely to be maladjusted to the role Society does not often disapprove of such a person, but he is living in society only to a restricted degree, since full membership involves marriage

The Celibate and Sexual Abstinence.—Although in rare instances sexual abstinence may be a consequence of physical or physiological incapacity, it would appear to result more often from unusual or limited social experience. In a society such as ours, where sex life and romantic love are commonly identified, a bitter failure in the latter may condition the individual to an avoidance of the former. Fear of—or distaste for—premarital relationships combined with economic inability to enter into matrimony may postpone sex participation until the physiological drive for it has waned. An adolescent resort to autosexual techniques may result in adequate adjustment to sex on this level; thus relieved of the impelling need for a heterosexual relationship, the individual may be disinclined to take the risks of clandestine affairs or the troubles of marriage.

Although the term "spinster" implies sexual abstinence, that of "bachelor" does not * As a part of the liberation-of-women movement of a few decades ago, the phrase "bachelor girl" was coined to indicate the unmarried woman who was not, or did not want to be known as, sexually abstinent. It is highly probable, however, that under present conditions far more women than men go through life without experiencing normal sexual behavior; for the unmarried man is less likely to be sexually abstinent than is the unmarried woman. Moreover, in European countries, the differential death rate, male emigration, periodic decimation of the younger males by war and revolutionary violence, and other factors have long resulted in there being a greater proportion of females than males in the total population The same situation is developing in the United States A considerable number of women must, therefore, remain unmarried, and if they are prohibited extramarital relationships, they must also remain sexually abstinent.

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chastity of their members, and it may well be doubted that the medieval priests who took vows of lifelong chastity always lived up to them. But where celibacy and chastity are required and generally adhered to, they cannot socially be considered a form of atypicality.

* For a consideration of the unmarried, see *The single woman* (R L Dickinson and L. Beam, 1934), "A study of the unmarried" (H Hausheer and J O Moseley, 1932); "The emotionality of spinsters" (R. R Willoughby, 1937*b*), and *Sex in development* (C Landis *et al*, 1940).

The factors that may lead or force a person to remain unmarried after reaching maturity are many and often complex. As was previously indicated, the social pattern is undergoing rapid change; and there is much malpreparation of the individual for such critical transitions in his life history as that of marriage. We can, however, make a rough distinction between those who want to marry and cannot, and those whose early training has led them to an avoidance of the status and responsibilities of married life. Probably many of the middle-aged bachelors who explain their status as the tragic consequence of a broken heart are merely rationalizing an early developed distaste for marriage The financial, moral, and emotional responsibilities that marriage incurs are more than they can face. Occasionally we find a man who is so woman-shy that he never really becomes acquainted with members of the other sex. Although most women probably remain unmarried from necessity, some spinsters are no doubt orthodox old maids; in these cases malpreparation for marriage often consists of setting up standards for the marriage partner and for marital relationships that are beyond all possibility of achievement

THE UNSOCIABLE

Although people who are considered normal may vary greatly in their ability and willingness to adjust to the presence of others, those who definitely withdraw from the world of others are distinctly atypical When a person deliberately cuts off or steadily neglects the lines of communication between himself and others, he does so either because he has never learned the normal and conventional person-to-person adjustments or because, having learned them, he finds his treatment by society—in terms of his personality—intolerable. The former source of atypicality is illustrated by the sheepherder who often grows to be more accustomed to the presence of sheep than to that of human beings He is an inveterate unsociable, his entire personality is one that makes sociability undesirable He is self-sufficient (R. G. Bernreuter, 1933) and content to be let alone.

More interesting but far less important is the hermit, a person who has retired from participation in normal social life, often because of unfortunate experiences with it. Although we usually think of the hermit as a man who lives in a cave and looks like a wild animal, the hermit may be a rich and cultured woman who lives in dignified seclusion on Riverside Drive because she is afraid or intolerant of the world outside her door Such withdrawal borders upon, if it does not achieve, the abnormal.

THE VAGRANT

Professional Migratory Parasites.—Except among a pastoral people, who must follow the grass with changing seasons, the normal social status is one in which the individual has a settled if not permanent abode and some occupation. His home may be a hut in the wilderness or an apartment in the city to which he returns from periodic trips, and his occupation may be anything from hunting wild game to selling life insurance. But the person who does not have "roots," either in terms of residence or of occupation, is definitely atypical

The gypsies of central Europe were a group of people who had adapted their migratory habits to economic conditions. Professional migratory parasites, they lived on the road and on the people They had something of their own culture and brought their children up into the practices and traditions of the group (M Block, 1939). Over-idealized in literature, the gypsy seems to have been tolerated merely because his visits were infrequent and colorful. Until recent years "tribes" of them came annually to America to spend the summer months living on their wits and on the credulity of the American farmer and small townsman

In contemporary America the nearest counterpart to the gypsies is the rising generation of "auto tramps." Like the gypsies, they have no fixed abodes Some live parasitically; others are migratory part-time workers Ultimately we may develop a new type of "gypsy," one geared to the life of our present age In the meantime, the auto tramps are likely to remain social outcasts who are ill prepared for the form of life that circumstances have thrust upon them.

But it is the hobo, the tramp, and the bum who most clearly exemplify the sort of person who has no roots in contemporary society The terms are often used indiscriminately. The definitions of Jeff Davis, the self-styled "king of the hobos," show, however, the distinctions which this surprisingly class-conscious group of people make among themselves. "A hobo," he said in opening one of their annual conventions, "is a migratory worker; a tramp is a migratory nonworker; while a bum is a nonmigratory nonworker "

The Hobo as an Urban Product.—The hobos form a loosely knit and informal grouping throughout the United States They have their jungles, camps where they gather to eat, sleep, and gossip But they have no specific place to call home, home is on the road. They have little property and keep nothing that they cannot carry in their pockets They have even developed something of their own language,

customs, and group mores. Like all true itinerants, the hobos are afflicted with wanderlust. Although they work when necessary and for brief periods, they are not true migratory workers. The true migratory worker, such as the fruit picker of the western states who follows the crops, is one who migrates because his occupation demands it; with him, migration is incidental to occupation. But for the hobo, migration is primary; work, incidental.* Give him an easy and remunerative job, and he soon becomes restless, finding some fault in the work to justify resumption of his interrupted travels.

The Tramp as a Rural Product.– Within the jungles a distinction is drawn between the hobo and the tramp, for the vagrant is often as snobbish as are his settled compatriots. Apparently the real difference between the tramp and the hobo is that the former is more rural and frequents the small towns, whereas the latter is essentially an urban product. The hobos travel "on the rods" and hang out on the edges of cities and in camps near railroad terminals. Perhaps because they are accustomed to spending many hours together in freight cars as they go from place to place, the hobos of America are better acquainted and far more of a fraternity than are the tramps.

A few decades ago, many of the tramps had some definite occupation. They were itinerant camp cooks, barbers, printers, etc. With the declining economic value of craft skills, their avocation, traveling, got the upper hand; and so they worked only that they might move on in search of some other place to work.

With the coming of the automobile, a new class of tramps developed. These are essentially beggars on wheels; they beg rides from passing motorists and a coin or two at the end of the journey. Such people may travel tens of thousands of miles a year in any direction and to a constantly shifting objective. In the western states there is a type of tramp relatively unknown in the east. Because he plods down the highways with a bedding roll upon his back, he is called a "bindle stiff." Disdained by his fleeter fellows, he is a perpetual and rather complacent vagrant, who works a week or two on one ranch before moving hopefully on to some other and temporarily better place across the hills.

Another type known only to the west is the "desert rat." He combines the personality attributes of the bindle stiff with those of the hermit. By avocation he is a searcher after lost mines, of which

* See *The hobo* (N. Anderson, 1923) and *Men on the move* (N. Anderson, 1940). C. Goodrich in his article on "Migratory labor" (*Encycl. Soc. Sci.*, **10**, 441-445) has drawn a clear distinction between the migratory worker as a normal person and the professional migrant as an atypical person.

there are legendary thousands. He secures his annual stake—sufficient to buy a burro, some food, etc —from some kindhearted or credulous person and spends eight or ten months in solitary wanderings over mountains and desert If he should strike a paying vein, he would probably squander the proceeds as quickly as possible and then set out again on the perpetual quest

Professional Vagrants.—Until recently the vast majority of hobos and tramps were male Such material as we have upon them seems to indicate that most of them are professional vagrants,* *i e*, they have broken from home and community ties at an early age and have "gone on the road." Because they are orphans, because their parents are loath to take care of them, or because their parents or guardians have mistreated them, boys occasionally run away from home † Unless they quickly find a means of self-support, they may learn while wandering in search of work to prefer wandering to working Gradually they acquire the special skills, knowledge, and other attributes of the professional hobo or tramp. The effect of the tradition that the life "on the road" is relatively easy and adventurous should not, however, be overlooked No doubt, some boys with reasonably adequate home backgrounds have secured from literature and other indirect sources an idealization of the life of the vagrant and have been encouraged by this to break home ties

In contrast to the professional vagrants are those men who as adults have become itinerant in the effort to escape some unsatisfactory condition in their home community Many of these are, in fact, criminals who have become itinerant to avoid the social consequences of crime. Some wanderers are, of course, actually moving about in search of work But if they remain unemployed too long, they become habituated to unemployment and make wandering their vocation or else sink to the level of the bum

* Material on both the personality traits and the social origins of the tramp, the hobo, and the bum are to be found in the following studies *The bunkhouse man* (E W Bradwin, 1928); *American tramp and underworld slang* (G Irwin, 1931), "Transient unemployed men" (B Culver, 1933), *Der Wandertrieb* (L. Mayer, 1934); "The relations of individual personal data responses and transiency, place among siblings, and academic ability" (H J P Schubert and M E Wagner, 1936), "The emotional stability of the transient" (W. H Brentlinger, 1936); "Clinical observations on the reactions of a group of transients to unemployment" (H. Shlionsky, P W Preu, and M Rose, 1937), "The educability of transients" (C H Smeltzer and C R Adams, 1937); *Sister of the road the autobiography of Box-car Bertha* (B Reitman, 1937); and "Determinants involved in boy transiency" (G E Outland, 1938)

† Armstrong has demonstrated certain of the social factors in family life that may cause boys to break away from their homes even in times of comparative economic security (C P Armstrong, 1932)

The Bum.—The hobo and the tramp are atypical in that they have made no occupational adjustment. They are men who have remained permanently in the temporary status of the adolescent, economically and socially irresponsible. In a manner of speaking, they have weighed the advantages of occupational maturity against the disadvantages and have decided not to grow up. They are the poor counterpart to the rich playboy. The bum, on the other hand, is one who has attempted occupational adjustment but has been persistently defeated in this endeavor As a young man he may have been a reasonably competent and diligent worker, but he has secured and lost so many jobs that, like the dog who is beaten too often and too severely, his "spirit" is broken.

As we have seen, fluctuations in the demand for labor, changes in industrial techniques, and other factors mean economic insecurity for the individual worker. Even during periods of high national production (*e g*, in 1928–1929 and again in 1941–1942), there is always a large labor reserve The men who are too frequently and for too much prolonged intervals members of this reserve gradually become its dregs, deteriorating from unemployed to unemployable Unless these men are taken over by some agency of society and rehabilitated or else given a dole, they become bums.

The bum is, thus, the human wreckage of our economic system. Whatever he was at the outset, repeated failures have made him despondent, unenterprising, and completely irresponsible He lives, or maintains life, from city soup kitchens if there are any, by foraging in garbage cans, or by desultory panhandling * He sleeps, when he can find the necessary dime, in the flophouses that abound in the poorer sections of our cities. As hardship and privation beat him down, the bum usually becomes mentally abnormal

Atypical Times and Atypical Patterns of Adjustment.—The criminal, the prostitute, the sex pervert, the celibate, etc, are "normal" atypicalities of our disorganized and continuously changing society Out of any violent economic, social, or political upheaval in this disorganized society comes, however, some form of atypicality more or less peculiar to that upheaval. The Russian Revolution, for example, produced a large number of orphaned children who became, for lack of social guidance, juvenile criminal gangs that ran in vicious packs and lived parasitically upon the larger society. Our economic crisis following 1929 forced thousands of boys and girls to shift for

* Although the bum may occasionally beg, he is not a professional mendicant and cannot maintain himself in this way The professional mendicant is well adjusted occupationally and has at times been accorded a fairly high social status See *The beggar* (H W Gilmore, 1940).

themselves, it uprooted them and set them "on the road."* Perhaps for the first time in our history, there developed a group of vagrants who had among their membership a considerable proportion of girls

As we have seen, whole classes of people may be liquidated by severe economic crisis, revolution, and military conquest. These may gradually work out an atypical adjustment to the new status. Such was the case with the dust-bowl refugees—the so-called "Oakies" and "Arkies" of California—who became semiparasitic, migratory agricultural workers. Refugees from war or revolutionary violence may, when peace comes, return to take up their old ways of life. Often, however, the period of their enforced idleness is so long and there is so little to return to that they never are rehabilitated. In 1939, before a new series of events sent new waves of refugees on the move, colonies of poverty-striken refugees from World War I and the revolutions that followed that war still existed in France.

SUMMARY

The disorganized continuously changing society produces a great many social misfits, individuals who have resolved one or many of the major problems of social adjustment in markedly atypical ways This atypicality sets them apart from the normal social membership and is, from the group point of view, a major failure of the socialization processes The criminal, the prostitute, the sex pervert, the spinster, the economic parasite, and all the other socially atypical people are society's "problem children."

It does not follow, however, that the socially atypical person is badly adjusted from the individual point of view. If his atypical behavior is a normal outcome of atypical personality development, he will be well adjusted within himself, however badly adjusted he is in terms of the social norms. But if his atypical behavior is a consequence of peculiar situational factors, it may lead to marked disorganization of his personality, setting him not only in opposition to society but in opposition to himself, with the result that he is maladjusted

The maladjusted person may in time work out a socially typical form of adjustment, or he may become habituated to atypicality But it often happens that, in endeavoring to resolve his maladjustment, he resorts to some psychologically abnormal device. Psychologically abnormal adjustments are sometimes an individual, sometimes a collective, phenomenon. In the following chapter those which are individual in character and the nature of the social circumstances that impel their use will be discussed

* See *Boy and girl tramps of America* (T Minehan, 1934).

CHAPTER XVI

PSYCHOLOGICALLY ABNORMAL PATTERNS OF ADJUSTMENT

In the preceding chapter, we have examined the ways in which social disorganization and continuing change complicate the process of individual adjustment. From time to time it was said that under this or that circumstance the individual might be so badly maladjusted that he fails to resolve his predicament in "realistic" terms and instead resorts to some abnormal device. This is what has happened when the widow, unreconciled to her bereavement, begins to "hear" the voice of her deceased husband; when the formerly rich man becomes convinced that he is the victim of an evil conspiracy; when the unhappy husband, instead of divorcing or murdering his wife, forgets that he has one, when the spinster begins to live in but not of this world Such behavior is a form of adjustment, but in that it denies "reality," it is psychologically abnormal

The layman is inclined to divide the people of his in-group into a fixed dichotomy sane and insane. The fact that members of out-groups behave in ways different from his own he can explain on the assumption that they are a different kind of people—they are Negroes, Germans, primitives, criminals, or lower class—and are for this reason different But when one of his in-group members—a friend, relative, acquaintance, or fellow citizen—behaves in a way that he does not understand, he commonly falls back upon the concept of insanity This is vaguely recognized as a sort of mental sickness and is generally assumed to be a definite and specific thing, which some few people develop and the majority escape.

The common practice of dividing people into those who are sane and those who are insane is a form of personality stereotyping and involves all the misunderstanding and oversimplification characteristic of this process. The problem of making a scientific distinction between the mentally sound and the psychopathic is fully as complex as that of differentiating between the physiologically sound and the pathological.

The Normal Personality.—The idea of a psychologically "sound" personality is like the concept of a physically sound body, a pure abstraction From a tallying of many observations, the normal health

of human beings may be derived; but sound body functioning should presumably be perfect and not just normal. The physiologist, however, has no idea what a perfectly functioning body would be. He observes that some work better than others and that some break down and cease to operate In the same way, we can determine the normally adjusted personality by tallying the personalities of a social group. Since, however, this normality is socially determined, the normal personality may or may not be a psychologically sound one Thus, although we may abstractly conceive of the psychologically perfect man, in practice we can only observe that some men function more effectively than others and that a certain number break down so completely that they cease to make normal adjustments to the external world.

Abnormality Socially Defined.—Insofar as biological nature prescribes few specific reactions to sensory stimuli, it is impossible to define the abnormal personality in terms of reactions alone; the cultural setting must also be considered Nature provides man with a mechanism by which he can communicate with the world external to his body and with the various parts of his body But the response that he will make to any combination of stimuli, such as those which come from an apple, is socially determined and is therefore not of itself an adequate criterion of psychological "normality." The mere fact that a man believes that an apple is poisonous, that it harbors an evil spirit, or that "an apple a day keeps the doctor away" is no evidence that he is psychologically abnormal. In actuality, apples may be neither poisonous nor a magic cure-all for human ills But what they are psychologically depends upon experience, which may be derived rather than direct In some communities, the apple may be regarded as evil, in others as an object of quasi-religious reverence For the members of such groups unrealistic beliefs concerning apples are entirely normal For the educated American of today the idea that a tomato is a poisonous fruit may be an evidence of some mental disturbance But this idea was perfectly normal for the Americans of a century ago In other words, the distinction between a true belief and a delusion or false belief must be social. Is the belief in keeping with the cultural ideas of the group?* If it is in agreement, it is a "true" belief; if not, it is a delusion. True beliefs of today may become delusions of tomorrow, and vice versa.

* The scientist may, because of information not yet imparted to the lay public, have beliefs not held by the latter. Such beliefs are not usually considered delusions, they are a part of the scientist's culture and have been verified in accordance with a science-sanctioned procedure.

The "reality" to which the individual makes or fails to make adjustment is, therefore, socially defined. Only when an individual denies what is socially defined as "real" is his behavior abnormal It is not the reaction per se that determines the normality or abnormality of a person but that reaction in terms of the established social reality If a man who has been taught to recognize an apple as an edible fruit subsequently develops a strong and "unreasoned" aversion, responding to apples as he has been trained to respond to snakes, we should say that he is suffering from a delusion. If, on partially awakening from a dream, a man perceives an ordinary apple as a cannon ball and treats it accordingly, he is said to be in the throes of an illusion. Finally, should a man perceive an apple when none is present, we should say that his internal stimuli are calling forth an hallucination.

The Psychopathic Personality.*—The term "psychopathic" may be used to designate those individuals whose behavior is markedly abnormal Various technical terms are used by psychiatrists to distinguish different degrees and forms of abnormality, more because they are a convenient descriptive short cut than because psychopathic personalities can be clearly classified into definite types With the attempts of psychopathologists to define and to distinguish among mental diseases, we need not concern ourselves It is important, however, that we realize that there are many, perhaps innumerable, manifestations of mental abnormality, that an individual may be psychopathic in one regard and reasonably normal in all others, and that an individual may be mentally normal at one time and psychopathic at another. Finally, we should realize that there are infinite graduations of abnormality All this means that it is impossible to say that one man is entirely sane or that another is entirely psychopathic

For legal purposes, a distinction is made between the sane and the insane, but much more than mental abnormality enters into the legal classification It is, after all, one of social convenience Some kinds and degrees of mental abnormality are deemed socially undesirable, some desirable.† Many men who from the psychological viewpoint are abnormal—many kings, prophets, and wizards of finance, industry, and science—have been revered as great men. The legally insane are

* For discussions of psychopathy from the standpoint of the psychopath see *A mind that found itself* (C W Beers, 1923) and *A mind mislaid* (H. C. Brown, 1937).

† The fighting courage and ability of the "psychological cases" of World War I were as good as, and quite possibly better than, those of more stable soldiers (E Miller, ed , 1940)

simply those whose behaviors are recognized by the courts as actually or potentially dangerous to themselves or to others.

Throughout the latter Middle Ages and down close to the present day, those psychopaths who came into conflict with society were assumed to be "possessed of the Devil" and were treated in the most cruel and barbaric way.* Only in recent years has it been realized that the psychopath is not a victim of some evil eye or necessarily of some organic disorder but may be a victim of society itself.

Organic versus Functional Bases for Abnormality.—Certain drugs, diseases, and a few disorders of a physiological order affect the organism and break down normal communication within the organism and between it and the external world. Narcotics dull the sensibilities Some drugs distort perceptions and call forth hallucinations Syphilis can cause neural deterioration and may thus disrupt the machinery of communication. Encephalitis, brain tumor, and many other disorders may leave permanent effects upon the organism and its ability to adjust to the environment. Senility involves an impairment of mental efficiency; the senile regresses psychologically, losing his ability to make and retain new habits and falling back upon those acquired in early life Psychological disorders that arise from these and comparable sources have been called organic. Their causes are reasonably clear and distinct

There are, however, a large number of psychological abnormalities that do not parallel known pathological changes in the structure of the organism. These are usually designated as functional disorders.† The distinction between the functional and the organic disorder is a commonplace in medical practice. When he can find no physiological cause for a patient's headaches, chronic indigestion, insomnia, pain in the neck, or whatnot, the physician will conclude that the disorder is not organic but functional or psychological ‡

* The social treatment of psychopaths has always been a reflection of the current social concept of the origin and nature of abnormal behavior At times, the mentally disordered have been revered as possessing superhuman qualities, at other times, they have been brutalized on the grounds that they were subhuman It is only within the last few decades that we have come to consider and to treat the psychopathic person as mentally sick and as one who might perhaps be cured. For a brief description of historic views and methods of treatment of mental aberration see H. S Sullivan, "Mental disorders" (*Encycl. Soc Sci*, 10, 313–318)

† For an attempt to measure the beginnings of psychological abnormality—emotional instability—see Appendix note 58 and "The psychotic and the prepsychotic personality" (T. V. Moore, 1938)

‡ Even when there is evident organic disorder present, the abnormal behavior may be of functional character But because of their physiological bias, many

Social Disorganization, Social Change, and the Conflict Situation.—It is mental abnormality of the functional type that particularly concerns the social psychologist, since the occurrence and character of functional disorders are intimately related to the social milieu In an earlier chapter it was observed that certain of the covert responses of the individual appear to be a tensional by-product of unresolved or conflict situations and that these tensions may ultimately become manifest in some apparently inexplicable form of overt action. It was then observed that the long-delayed overt response can be explained in no other way. The sudden outburst of "temper," the seemingly unprovoked murder, the "impulsive" suicide, and the like are made much more comprehensible when viewed as the overt culmination of many conflict situations, each of which left its tensional residue.

Presumably tensions are subject to continuous and periodic release. Many of the recreational activities of men would appear to serve something of this function; and we shall later see in detail how certain forms of collective action, *e g.*, evangelical meetings, permit and foster periodic release of tensions. But when the psychologically permissible outlets are inadequate or when participation in conflict situations is too frequent, tensions may be resolvable only by resort to abnormal forms of behavior*—the functional disorders under discussion in the present chapter

In the four preceding chapters we have been discussing what may now be described as the social backgrounds of the conflict situation. Even in the most stable and highly integrated social systems conflict situations will arise as a result of failures in the socialization process. Under conditions of social disorganization and social change other conflict situations appear.† Many individuals will be malprepared for the circumstances to which they must adjust as they grow up and old and shift from social role to social role. Many of the circumstances to which they have been prepared to adjust will be modified. Functional disorders of personality are, therefore, to be considered as

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medical men are prone to seek the cure for all abnormal behaviors in some sort of physical therapy—insulin injections and electric shock being the favorite techniques at the present moment. For a discussion of such "shock" techniques see Appendix note 59.

* Abnormal forms of behavior cannot be attributed to the presence of a single trait of neurotic tendency See "A factor analysis of certain neurotic tendencies" (C I Mosier, 1937)

† The structure of the many types of conflict situations that may be set up by a disorganized and changing society has been variously analyzed. The system devised by Lewin is, perhaps, as adequate as any See Appendix note 60.

individual attempts to resolve the tensions resulting from conflict situations.*

A Classification on the Basis of Social Antecedents.—The psychiatrist distinguishes a great many more or less typical functional disorders. His interest is in the diagnosis and treatment of patients. Ours lies in the social antecedents of psychopathic adjustments rather than in the type of adjustment itself. We may therefore somewhat simplify our analysis and classify the various functional psychopathic adjustments under three concepts: compensatory devices, dissociational techniques, and escape mechanisms. It is assumed that these categories either include or are more basic than those usually designated as suppression, rationalization, resistance, transference, regression,† identification, projection, sublimation, etc.

COMPENSATORY ADJUSTMENTS

The Conflicts of "Wants" with Actualities.—A compensatory device is a symbolic substitute for something that the individual wants but cannot secure.‡ In Freudian theory this is a substitute for the natural outlet of inherent drives. Normally the libido is diverted by social forces into unnatural but partially adequate channels. When these channels are completely inadequate, conflicts arise. Stripped of its mystic terminology, the core of Freudian theory is that there is an inevitable opposition between the individual's wishes and the restraints of social life.

But many so-called Freudians recognize by implication and some few state explicitly that the vast majority of the individual's wants, needs, or wishes are of social derivation rather than of biological origin. If a child desires candy, if an orphan wants parents, if a man wants a car as impressive as his neighbor's, if a spinster wants a husband, and if a hesitant person is desirous of being a fluent speaker, they do so because they have been taught by social experience to want

* Some students of abnormal behavior believe that there is no direct relation between the character of the society and the frequency of psychoses. They contend that such breakdown is traceable to hereditary "predispositions," that various peoples have much the same proportion of such inherent weaknesses, and that the predispositions toward abnormal behavior will become manifest, whatever the society. For a discussion of the evidence pro and con see Appendix note 61.

† "Regression" refers either to a return to earlier habits or to behaving on a simpler and more primitive level. For research having to do with the latter see "Frustration and regression: an experiment with young children" (R. Barker, T. Dembo, and K. Lewin, 1941).

‡ Certain of the devices included here under the term "compensatory" are sometimes designated "substitute responses."

these things. Unless they have been so taught, they will not miss such things and will not find it necessary to compensate for them

The fact that people cannot miss what they have never had or been taught to want, is most clearly seen in the congenitally crippled child It is a common experience of orthopedic hospitals that straightening twisted legs may be far less difficult than adjusting the child to the possession of legs that have been straightened. Because a child has never had two strong legs upon which to run and play, he has never really missed them. His personality has not been that of a physically normal child When surgery gives him the sound legs he did not formerly have, he may become badly adjusted, for his personality may remain that of a cripple although his body is now normal.

Let us stress again that what a person will want to have, be, or become as a social being is dependent upon his social experience. He may be quite contented with the status of a slave or extremely discontented even with that of a prince. Under conditions of contemporary life, many factors contribute to the development of adjustment demands that are later denied satisfaction and of ambitions far beyond the possibilities of attainment. When the gap between what the individual has been taught to be and what society permits him to be has become excessive, he tends to fill in social reality by resorting to compensatory devices.

Daydreaming as a Compensatory Device.—There are many ways by which the individual can provide symbolic substitutes for social realities. They range all the way from the commonplace practice of daydreaming to that of shutting out the external world and living completely in one of make-believe (a type of schizophrenia) The child who has been accustomed to playmates and is subsequently deprived of them may substitute imaginary children with whom he talks and plays, sometimes taking alternately the parts of himself and the others and seeing and hearing the others only in imagination A daydream playmate may become so vivid that the child orders his life in terms of that playmate, he may wait for the playmate to dress, demand that it be fed at the family table, and express puzzlement when others do not know about it

Although children frequently do their daydreaming out loud and act out the incidents of their daydream life, social disapproval and inconvenience, combined with increased skill in the use of covert symbols as a substitute for nonsymbolic actions, lead the relatively normal adult to do his daydreaming in silence and outward passivity. But the function remains the same. Because his actual role in society is not adequate in terms of his personality, the daydreamer finds

satisfaction in telling himself a story in which he is the central figure. Daydreams frequently have, as all those who indulge in this pastime will recognize, a definite plausibility. In view of what is known by the individual, they might become true, however small the probability. Reveries or fantasies, on the other hand, may be no more than a sort of self-amusement and may have little if any relation to reality.

Fiction as a Compensatory Device.—Written fiction, the drama, the motion picture, and such spectacles as a football game, an elaborate wedding, and an impressive military review often provide the individual with a ready-made daydream. By identifying himself with the hero or heroine of a story, he can secure vicariously something of the excitement, romance, wealth, and social recognition that he wants but is denied in actuality. All reading of novels and attendance of motion-picture shows, games, and spectacles cannot be so interpreted, however, such activities are often but time killers and do not serve as substitutes for felt lacks in life experience. The individual may, moreover, use written and other fiction as a source from which to draw certain elements of his personality.

There is, however, reason to believe that extreme dependence by an individual upon the moving picture, the novel, and other fiction is a consequence of the inadequacy of his social reality. One of the most interesting developments in the field of radio broadcasting has been the growth and persistence of "radio-family" serials, in which family and neighborhood incidents are dramatized. The tremendous popularity of such serials came as a surprise to broadcasting agencies. That a million or more people could become intensely interested in the commonplace and, to any but themselves, trivial doings of an entirely fictitious group of people, known only through the medium of radio broadcasting, was not suspected But, when we reflect upon the number of people who have been brought up under the intimate social relationships of the old-fashioned neighborhood and large family and who now find themselves living in comparative social anonymity, this interest in the intimate affairs of fictitious persons can be seen as a supplement to real friends, relatives, and acquaintances.

Only when dependence upon make-believe comes to exclude acceptance of and response to reality, do we consider the individual actually psychopathic. There may, however, be no more than a difference in degree between the person who is lost in the action of a book and the psychopath who is ruling his imaginary subjects in a near-by institution for the insane.

Romanticizing.—Few men entirely avoid occasional verbal exaggeration of their social roles. For the fisherman to inflate the size of

his catch in telling of it is recognized as a normal and permissible part of the art of fishing; and at basis psychopathic romanticizing is nothing more than an extension of the braggart's trick of making verbal victory from actual defeat, verbal pounds from actual ounces, or verbal feet from actual inches.

Unlike daydreaming, such romanticizing is an effort to change the external world. By exaggerating, misinterpreting, and twisting past events, the individual endeavors to impress others with his importance. Unless he feels that he is less important in their eyes than he should be, he will make no attempt to pull himself up by verbal bootstraps. All bragging in which the braggart is elevated (and even boasting about one's relatives, country, or civilization is subject to this interpretation) is an indication that, at least in this specific situation, the individual feels a distinct inadequacy in social reality It is, therefore, a compensatory device If one cannot "be somebody," he can at least "talk quality."

Much lying, which is sometimes considered an evidence of abnormal adjustment, is of this order The man who talks among his friends as though he were master in his home may be thereby compensating for the fact that he is not, although he would like to be, the master Unless, however, his tales of prowess become too insistent and too obviously untrue, we do not think of him as psychopathic. Too great intensification of conditions that have led a man to innocuous bragging may push him over the vague border between the relatively normal and the psychopathic. In the extreme case, the individual is usually described as suffering from delusions of grandeur.*

We must distinguish, however, between the person who exaggerates for some specific and recognized object of self-interest, such as the salesman who makes extravagant claims for the goods he wishes to sell, and the one who exaggerates because his social position is inadequate in terms of his earlier experience The former is not fooling himself, but the latter may easily do so, in which case the distortion of reality that he makes through exaggeration is for him entirely real Again, we must remember that the line between the two is never clear. It is not, for example, uncommon for the salesman by his extravagant claims to "sell" not only his customer but himself as well.

DISSOCIATION AS A MODE OF ADJUSTMENT

Logic-tight Compartments.—The substitution of symbolic realities for inadequacies in social reality takes many forms and has many

* For an interpretation of Mussolini as a psychopath see *Sawdust Caesar* (G. Seldes, 1935).

degrees of expression. Somewhat distinct in terms of social antecedents is the abnormal technique of segregating aspects of social experience into logic-tight compartments. This, too, takes many forms but may be considered under the general concept of dissociation.

Principles of logic, morality, and the like are by definition generalizations and are therefore applicable to all of a common category. If it is true that to kill any man is against the will of God, it cannot also be true that to kill some men is the divine wish. Yet it often happens, particularly in contemporary society, that an individual's social experience teaches him first one and then the other of such mutually exclusive principles of behavior. When, as is common, segregation into unrelated elements is characteristic of his social group, no mentally abnormal consequences follow. No pressure is brought upon the individual to relate them, he does not have to reject forcibly the fact that they conflict with each other.

But when opposition between aspects of personality springs from the fact that the individual has lived and been influenced first by one social grouping and then by another and antagonistic one, elements making for a psychopathic adjustment are present. The man who has been brought up into acceptance of religious fundamentalism and who is subsequently inducted into the concepts of modern biology is faced with a conflict situation. Since both fundamentalists and scientists recognize the mutual exclusiveness of their viewpoints, the individual who has been trained to accept both of them is, by this fact, forced either to reject one or the other, to try to reconcile them, or, retaining both unmodified, to keep them artificially segregated. If, because of factors in his social experience, he cannot reject either one, he may attempt to reconcile them and may thus be "torn between two antagonistic truths," in the end resorting to some psychopathic escape from the unsolvable dilemma. Or he may make an equally unrealistic adjustment to this conflict by refusing to recognize that the two viewpoints are in any way related, thus applying one "truth" in some situations, the other in different situations.

The conflicting forces of contemporary life impel most of us to resort to the dissociational technique in some respect or other. We are, however, practically incapable of recognizing our own utilization of it. One of the greatest dangers to science is the inability of the scientist, however conscientious his efforts, to perceive his own blind spots. He may recognize the cultural dissociations of the primitive, the irreconcilables accepted by the medieval theologian, and the adherence to sets of mutually exclusive principles by those around him. But his own must be forever kept secret from himself. The value of a

dissociational adjustment lies in its making unnecessary any effort at reconciling the irreconcilable.

The "Split Personality."—Dissociations are to be found underlying some of the most puzzling phenomena in contemporary life. The child psychologist whose children are notoriously "spoiled brats," the economist who puts all his savings in the wildest stock, the scientist who consults a spiritualist before undertaking any important act, and the domestic-science authority whose home is unkempt may not be hypocrites but only extremely mild psychopaths They have two or more distinct personalities; in some situations one will function, and in other situations another becomes operative The so-called "split personality"* is but an extreme manifestation of this exceedingly commonplace technique by which the individual can avoid the tensions that are caused by conflicting personality attributes Most of us to some degree play the dual role of a Dr. Jekyl and Mr Hyde.

ESCAPE MECHANISMS AS MODES OF ADJUSTMENT

As Distinguished from Compensatory Adjustments.—It is as impossible rigidly to classify the social antecedents of psychopathic adjustments as it is to classify those adjustments themselves But it is one thing for a child to use daydreaming as a means of filling in the gap caused by the death of a parent; and it is another for him to avoid by some abnormal technique the fact that his stepfather, unlike the ideal father, is cruel and harsh For convenience we may distinguish between the psychological filling in of a felt inadequacy in social reality and the evasion of some reality that the individual cannot tolerate Adjustments of the former order we have termed compensatory devices; those of the latter may well be designated as escape mechanisms.

One of the simplest forms of escape is that of fainting under the tension imposed by extreme physical pain A person may also faint as the means of escaping from some situation that is psychologically too painful to bear As is true of all such mechanisms, fainting must be a psychologically permissible means of escape, otherwise some other device will be utilized. To the person who has been taught that fainting is a sign of undesirable weakness, the "pain" of fainting may be less acceptable than is the "pain" of an unpleasant situation.

That which an individual will find intolerable and therefore necessary to escape is a matter of personal definition Whereas one man

* For interestingly described examples see *Two souls in one body?* (H H Goddard, 1927) and *Persons One and Three* (S. I Franz, 1933).

finds poverty a "natural" state, another may see it as a living hell; whereas one may take financial bankruptcy as a bit of bad luck, another may feel it an irreparable disgrace, and although the professional criminal looks upon criminal indictment merely as a business matter, most of us would consider it a personal tragedy. Unless one has been taught by social experience that some situation is intolerable, no need to escape that situation by resort to psychopathic devices will be felt. The boy who has never known any but a harsh, cruel stepfather may adjust to the latter's presence and not find it psychologically necessary to make an escape.

Under conditions necessitating some escape adjustment, the one that the individual will utilize is, as has been indicated, determined by his personality. There are many escape techniques; the possibilities range from the temporary expedient of fainting to the permanent resolution of life's difficulties by self-destruction * The technique that is utilized will be the one that is least incompatible with the personality of the user.

Hypochondria.—One of the simplest and most effective escape adjustments takes the form of functional aches and pains. The hypochondriac is a person who uses this technique to excess Many headaches, possibly even those of the migraine type (O Knopf, 1935), have at least some of their origin in mental factors and serve as an escape from the petty annoyances of life.† Such vague, but to the sufferer exceedingly real, complaints as general lassitude are frequently of the same order It is often difficult for the physician to distinguish in individual cases between symptoms whose prior cause is largely psychosocial and those which, although having psychological manifestations, are at basis of physiological origin. He can clearly differentiate the imaginary from the actual cancer; but many disorders,

* Perhaps the most remarkable fact about suicides is that the people whom we might a priori assume to be most anxious to enjoy the luxury of death—the poverty stricken, the socially exploited, the dregs of humanity—resort to suicide less frequently than do those who are financially and socially more prosperous.

For studies of the social factors affecting the incidence of suicide, see "Prosperity, depression, and the suicide rate" (W C. Hurlburt, 1932), *To be or not to be. a study in suicide* (L. I Dublin and B Bunzel, 1933); "A thousand cases of attempted suicide" (F. C Lendrum, 1933); "Suicide and mental disease" (G R. Jameison, 1936), "Attempted suicide: an investigation" (F. Hopkins, 1937); "A study of personal disorganization" (E. R. Mowrer, 1939), "Suicide as wish-fulfillment" (I Hendrick, 1940); and "Suicide and its prevention" (E. H Derrick, 1941)

† Hypochondria may also be a compensatory device—the person who has an inadequate social role may find an absorbing interest in pampering an otherwise normal digestive tract or heart Compensatory, too, is the use of functional aches and pains as a means of securing desired attention not otherwise forthcoming

such as indigestion, constipation, and some heart afflictions often defy diagnosis. There is, to illustrate, a considerable interaction between "mental states" and digestive functions. Abnormal mental states may be a consequence of digestive disorders; but, on the other hand, digestive disorders may be a reflection of mental disturbances.*

In our society at least, sickness generally releases the individual from a considerable degree of social responsibility and at the same time intensifies the responsiveness of others toward him. Whenever a person finds his responsibilities intolerable or his problems unsolvable, he may use sickness as a means of escape. Although such sickness may be almost entirely of psychological origin and may not deceive the doctor or others, the "sick" person is not consciously making believe. To him the "pains" are as real as are those of physiological origin. The efficacy of sugar pills, patent nostrums, and quasi-religious methods of faith healing arises in part from the fact that those cured by these things have been suffering from only psychological pains. In the ritualism of these curatives they find a better escape from conflict tensions than they have in their functional ills.

Dipsomania.—One of the most common, perhaps because most socially permissible, escapes is temporary release from a conflict situation by excessive indulgence in alcohol (dipsomania). A depressant, alcohol seems to effect an escape by "wiping out" recently acquired associations—those which it is necessary to escape—and by permitting earlier and more fundamental ones to become operative Thus, by drinking, a man can often secure temporary release from the effects of a nagging wife, from the fact that he is a business failure, from his feeling of shyness or insignificance in the presence of his associates, or from whatever it is in his present life circumstances that conflicts with his earlier experience. Should the necessity for such escape become persistent and his indulgence in alcohol become excessive and periodic, he is considered definitely psychopathic.† In terms of social antecedents the distinction between the occasional drinker and the true alcoholic may be one of degree only.

* There are few symptoms of physiological disturbance that have not in some instance or other been traced to psychosocial origins For a summary of the medical data on this subject see *Emotions and bodily changes a survey of literature on psychosomatic interrelationships* (H F. Dunbar, 1938).

† See "The social psychology of alcoholism" (A. Myerson, 1940); "Personality factors in alcoholic addiction" (N. D C Lewis, 1940), "Alcohol· a critical review of the literature, 1929–1940" (H Marshall, 1941); "A highly successful approach to the alcohol problem" (W. D Silkworth, 1941); "Psychiatric resultants of alcoholism" (N D C Lewis, 1941); and "Alcoholic mental disorders" (K. M Bowman and E. M Jellinek, 1941)

Rationalizing.—The man who is actually poor but who is convinced that he should be rich may adjust himself to this conflict by romanticizing—imagining that his rags are fine clothes, that the stones he picks up in the roadway are diamonds, and that scraps of paper are bank notes. Such a person is immediately recognized as psychotic. A more subtle method of securing the same self-grandiosity, one more likely to avoid detection, is that of accepting the actualities of social status but of distorting the reasons why this status is not what it should be—rationalizing. Often this is accomplished by imputing evil motives to someone One who does this believes that his status is a consequence of systematic persecution The man who has been taught to believe that wealth is his by right of birth or worth but who is actually poor may reconcile these contrasts to his own satisfaction by imagining that he is poor because some enemy, perhaps an impersonal one, is defeating all his efforts to secure his normal rights. In this way, he shifts all blame for his actual status from himself to others. The elaborate and quasi-logical rationalization that is involved sometimes excels the plots constructed by professional fiction writers. Not infrequently, such psychopaths have fooled others besides themselves, even police, courts, and psychiatrists have been caught in the mesh of their verbal fabrications

The egotistical but unsuccessful artist or writer who blames his failure upon the "stupidity" of the public or upon the "monopolistic efforts" of art dealers or publishers is resorting to this sort of device. By thrusting the blame for his lack of recognition upon others,* he is saved from admitting to himself and others that he is incompetent and that the fault lies in his books or his pictures. Similarly the businessman, struggling impotently against the painful realities of a business depression, may blame his troubles, not upon "business," of which he is a part, but upon "the radicals," who, as he may firmly believe, have willfully and maliciously undermined the economic system.

The shifting of blame from self to others takes many forms and is resorted to in some degree by most of us It is a means of escaping the fact that we are in some respects less competent than we have been taught that we ought to be, and of thereby preserving confidence

* This mechanism, often spoken of as projection, has been studied through analysis of play activities (E Homburger, 1937) See also "Experimental studies of projection I Attribution of traits" (R. R. Sears, 1936), "Literature and personality" (H. G. McCurdy, 1939); "Projective methods for the study of personality" (L. K. Frank, 1939b); "Verbal attitudes scores from responses obtained in the projective technique" (S. S. Dubin, 1940); and "Play technique" (F. F Tallman and L. N Goldensohn, 1941)

in ourselves. Many of our individual rationalizations are but escapes from less severe conflicts than those which lead a psychopath to believe himself the hero of a cosmic tragedy.

Amnesia.—Amnesia, or loss of memory, is commonly an escape mechanism.* The individual may block off the psychological consequences of conflicting experiences and thus forget what is too "painful" to remember Some of the psychoanalysts contend that whenever we forget a past event, even the name of a new acquaintance, we do so because that event is incompatible with other experiences. Forgetting is, to their minds, always an escape technique. Although this extreme view is hardly tenable, it is no doubt true that forgetting often serves as a means by which the individual may resolve the tensions engendered by conflicting experiences. When large areas of past experience are blotted out, the person may forget his identity, his occupation, his home, etc., but may be in other regards entirely normal Since concussion of the brain may cause quite similar symptoms, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the man who has lost his memory because of an automobile crash and the one who is suffering from a business or matrimonial smash-up.

THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF ABNORMAL BEHAVIOR

That the psychopathic are often socially incompetent and must therefore be cared for by social agencies is an obvious social consequence of mental abnormality. A less apparent but no doubt equally important social consequence results from the fact that psychopaths occasionally provide social leadership of one form or another Religious sects have frequently received their initial momentum from the psychopathic delusions of individuals who found in such sects an escape from intolerable conflicts in social reality. The issue is of course debatable, but there is reason to believe that much that passes for political, economic, artistic, and literary genius is actually a manifestation of psychopathic adjustment. This is not to infer that the social leadership provided by a psychopath is necessarily disadvantageous to society. Although it is impossible to concur with such an extremist as Adler, who would interpret all exceptional individual activity as a compensation for inferiorities of some sort, it is probably true that excessive concentration upon a single phase of social life, such as business, politics, science, or art, is often a method by which the individual endeavors to compensate for inadequacies or

* For an unusual view of amnesia, that from the standpoint of the patient, see *I lost my memory the case as the patient saw it* (Anon , 1932)

failures in other aspects of his life And such concentration is commonly the secret of success.

The "Mass Movement."—Often merely an individual reflection of social disorganization, the psychopathic personality may, however, play a considerable part both in furthering social disintegration and in inventing and disseminating new elements of organization. As the unit through which social organization is manifest, the individual is both an expression of that organization and a contribution to it If society forces the individual to work out a psychopathic adjustment in an attempt to reconcile conflicting elements of social experience, this mode of individual adjustment may be taken over, or at least provide leadership for, others who are equally in need of some means of reconciling irreconcilables. The result is a collective, as distinct from individual, phenomenon and is usually described as a mass movement. In the succeeding and final part of this book we shall discuss first the "normal" and then the "abnormal" forms of collective interaction.

PART V

Social Interaction

CHAPTER XVII

THE INTERACTIONAL SITUATION

So far we have kept our attention focused upon the individual, endeavoring to discern the various ways through which his participation in social life prepares him or malprepares him for adjustment to subsequent circumstances. We have examined the processes by which the human infant is socialized and have observed that under contemporary conditions there is a marked lack of continuity and consistency in his socialization. We have discussed the consequence of the social experiences of the individual, his personality, and have seen that the personalities of modern men are often in some or many regards incompatible with the social demands made upon them. Throughout all this discussion we have taken the fact of social interaction more or less for granted. From this point on we shall take the individual more or less for granted and shall examine into the nature of the social interactions from which he has acquired his personality attributes and in which he participates. Heretofore we have been, as it were, studying the characters in the play—their training, their qualifications for their respective roles, and the effects of their being promoted to better parts and being demoted to inferior parts Hereafter, we shall examine the enactment of the scenes that make the play.

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR

All behavior is the response of an organism to stimuli. The stimuli may be either of internal origin or of external origin The act of food seeking as a response to the hunger pang is of the former order, whereas picking up a food object from the ground belongs to the latter. In analyzing the behavior of human beings, we may for convenience distinguish three levels or forms of behavior—levels that are not, however, to be thought of as in any sense separate Each of these levels of behavior has something of its own laws, although, as we shall see, the second is built upon the first, and the third upon the second

Nonsocial and Social Behavior.—First to appear in point of time and first in degree of simplicity is what may be termed nonsocial

behavior. This includes all unlearned reactions, sometimes spoken of as reflexes or nonsocial drives. The infant wail is at first presumably of this order—a generalized natural reaction to certain body states or to stimuli of external origin. Also included in the category nonsocial are all individually acquired responses, *i.e.*, all responses acquired out of trial-and-error experience that is not directed by other human beings. The distaste and aversion reactions to a bitter fruit acquired by a man from his random picking and eating of such fruit would come into this category.

Only an exceedingly small part of the behavior of men is, however, nonsocial Social forces direct most of the learning process; and generalized natural reactions to stimuli are quickly refined into a large number of specific reactions, each one of which can be evoked only by a specific and socially designated stimulus situation. Thus the wail soon becomes a cry for something, not just a cry The specific reactions that have been learned through social direction belong to the second category, which, for simplicity, is termed social behavior. Most of the behavior of a man who is strolling down a quiet path in the woods is, for example, social behavior, since he responds to natural objects mainly in terms of his social training If he finds the sounds made by a bird enjoyable, he does so at least in part because he has been taught by other human beings to consider such sounds enjoyable If he jumps in fright when a harmless snake slithers across his path, he does so because he has been taught to consider all snakes as objects of fear

Social Interaction and Collective Behavior.—The third level of behavior is that which arises when two or more human beings respond in socially acquired ways to one another. The process that then appears is interactional, and the consequence of that process is collective behavior.

The distinction between social behavior and collective behavior arises from the fact that in the former we are dealing with what is essentially a series of one-way cause-and-effect relationships, whereas in the latter each effect serves in turn as a cause * The behavior of the man strolling through the woods is a series of reactions (effects) to a sequence of relatively constant stimuli (causes). His behavior is largely a result of the effect of the stimuli (visual stimuli from the

* As was indicated in Chapter I, much of the early social psychology was developed around the one-way cause-and-effect concept, as was, for example, the "stimulus-response" approach (F. Allport, 1924) Of recent years the trend in social psychology, as in other sciences, has been constantly toward multiple-variable or interactional analysis.

path, trees, shrubs, and flowers, auditory stimuli from the birds, wind, and the sound of his feet on the path; olfactory stimuli from the soil, plants, and decaying organic matter, kinesthetic and tactual stimuli from the ground underfoot, the air, contact with branches, etc) upon his socially developed personality. His behavior affects these stimuli sources but little. The tree may fall under the blows of his ax; the snake may die under his foot; and to this extent his behavior modifies nature and thus in turn his reaction to it But, in the main, the reaction is of a one-way order: he reacts to nature, not nature to him *

Differing so much in degree that we may conveniently consider it a difference in kind is the interaction that occurs when the man walks into the presence of another human being or group of human beings Then, not only does he react to them as stimuli sources, but they with rare exceptions react to him His reactions are, therefore, at once the effect of their behavior on him and the cause of (the stimuli for) reactions on their part.† And so, whereas in the previous circumstances we have but one variable to consider—the personality of the man walking in the woods—in this case we have as many variables as there are people Each of these people will respond in terms of his particular personality to the behavior of all the others. The behavior of any one is, therefore, a consequence, not of a simple one-way cause and effect, but of an interaction. The product of an interaction, collective behavior, is perhaps the most complex, baffling, and yet most interesting phenomenon with which the scientist has to deal

* Much of the land surface, many of the animals, and not a little of the internal area of our globe have, of course, been modified by the activities of men. But the point is that nature responds to man's efforts very slowly, whereas man must adjust himself to his surroundings rapidly and constantly For a detailed classification of the various environments to which the individual must make his adjustment, see *An introduction to social psychology* (L L Bernard, 1926, Chap VI)

† The behaviorist Weiss has stressed the point that in an interaction the distinction between stimulus and response practically vanishes Whenever two human beings, *A* and *B*, hold a conversation, the speech of *A* can be classified as *A*'s response, yet it constitutes the stimuli for his listener, *B*, as well Weiss has also suggested that stimuli (or responses) might well be classified two ways—as biophysical and as biosocial Two stimuli are biophysically equivalent whenever they are similar physically (alike in wave form, weight, height, width, etc.). To be alike biosocially, they must call forth equivalent responses in others Thus, "Gut' Tag" and "Good day" will be biosocially equivalent although, since their sound pictures are quite dissimilar, they are not biophysically equivalent (A P. Weiss, 1929). See also "The study of personality and the method of equivalent and non-equivalent stimuli" (H Klüver, 1936).

Collective Behavior as More Than the Sum of Individual Behaviors. Although the behaving units are individual human beings, collective behavior cannot be described as the sum of the separate behaviors of a number of individuals, any more than water can be considered as the sum of two free atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen. The interaction of the parts in combination produces a new phenomenon, and thus the whole is greater than the sum of its parts Like one of the parts of a machine, a single personality is but one of the factors that contributes in small or large measure to the interaction that in totality constitutes collective behavior. It is because of this fact that so much difficulty is encountered in analyzing attributes of personality Those attributes, it will be recalled, are usually made manifest in situations; and it is often impossible to distinguish between actions that are mainly a function of the personality and those which are mainly a function of the situation.

THE SOCIAL OR INTERACTIONAL SITUATION

In the study of collective behavior the unit of observation is the social, or interactional, situation * A situation has its inception, duration, and termination. As a unit of study it is the real-life counterpart to one of the scenes of a play. Sociologists and other social scientists study the "plot"—the social organization, the processes of social change, etc. The social psychologist, on the other hand, studies the many specific situations out of which and through time the "plot" emerges

A social situation has its inception whenever two or more people come into interaction; it is terminated when they separate or when a distinctly new form of interaction is set off by the introduction of a new factor. The meeting of friends on a street corner is, thus, the

* For a time the concept of the social, or interactional, situation seemed to be developing mainly in sociology Now, however, psychologists are interesting themselves in the concept, *e g*, Allport with his event-system theory (F H Allport, 1940*b*) and Lewin with his field theory (K Lewin, 1939). The psychiatrists, too, are helping to develop the concept, Moreno with his technique of sociometry (J L Moreno, 1937), and H S Sullivan with his theory of interpersonal relationships (E. Beaglehole, 1940)

For other discussions of the concept see "The behavior pattern and the situation" (W. I Thomas, 1928), *The quest for certainty* (J. Dewey, 1929), "The situational approach—a reaction to individualism" (F. J. Bruno, 1931), "Some problems of the situational approach" (S A Queen, 1931), "The observation of societal behaviors of individuals" (F H Allport, 1937*a*), "Personality traits and the situation" (J. M. Reinhardt, 1937), and "Social interaction: the problem of the individual and the group" (L Wirth, 1939).

inception of a situation. That situation continues until they separate to go their independent ways or until an explosion in a near-by building, the coming of a person they dislike, or something else, changes the friendly conversation into a dash for safety, a forced rather than friendly conversation, or whatnot.

In the succeeding chapters we shall be principally concerned with the processes that occur within the limits of situations as so defined In some instances, however, situations build so much one upon another that we can trace certain phenomena only through a sequence of situations. Such a procedure is necessary, for example, in the study of such phenomena as rumors, lynchings, and mass movements

Factors Facilitating Interaction.—The proximity of human beings to one another does not of itself constitute an interactional situation (62) Unless human beings are adjusting themselves to one another, they remain socially isolated and do not in the sense of interaction merge into a unit Necessary for effective interaction is some degree of similarity or some interlocking dissimilarities between the personalities of the individuals involved They must be able to communicate with one another; their individual personalities must be such as to permit at least a start toward the working out by trial and error of an adjustment; and they must have or be capable of formulating a common objective

Although people who speak different languages may to some extent communicate with one another on the basis of simple gestures and thus interact, commonness of language greatly facilitates interaction A North American and a Latin American may adjust to the presence of each other in the smoking room of a ship on the basis of visual stimuli, each judging what the other intends to do and shaping his behavior accordingly, to the end that they at least do not try to sit down on the same chair. And it is possible, of course, for two men to interact with each other solely by pushing, pulling, and punching Such behavior is conceivably collective Ordinarily, however, the means of communication involved in interactional situations are of more complex orders and presume some degree of individual preparation for interaction in the specific situation.

Ability to communicate through a common language facilitates but does not, however, assure effective interaction. The fact that the members of a situation are capable of communicating indicates a degree of similarity in their symbolic training.* But symbolic

* When such variables as age, race, occupation, social background, and place of conversations are held fairly constant, even sex differences in conversational interests are rather small People with interlocking patterns of nonsymbolic

behavior is often only the means to adjustment; and unless the members of a given situation have been prepared not only for communication but also for interlocking or parallel patterns of nonsymbolic adjustment, they may be forced to resort to trial and error in attempting to interact. For effective interaction it is not enough, therefore, that people want to get along together and can communicate with one another. They must also have, or be capable of learning, patterns of nonsymbolic adjustment. Probably most people entering marriage want to get along with the marriage partner, and certainly most husbands and wives speak the same language. Nevertheless, as the records show, marital discord—lack of adequate adjustment—is a commonplace. The value of parallel patterns of nonsymbolic adjustment is readily seen in the uniform response of a company of soldiers to an officer's command; for example, each member of the company will turn left at the command "Left face!" The value of divergent but interlocking modes of behavior may most clearly be seen in the artificial actions of people on the stage. The members of the cast do not behave alike, but each responds at a given cue in a way that facilitates the behavior of all the others and contributes to the organization of the whole situation.

Further facilitating effective interaction is commonness of objective, which may exist at the inception of the situation or may be developed as a function of the situation itself. The extent to which predetermined unity in objective facilitates a situation can be simply illustrated by what may happen when acquaintances meet casually on the street. If they have as a common objective that of arriving some place, perhaps one to his office and the other to the bank, they will resolve the situation easily. This will also be true should they both feel in the mood for a bit of idle conversation But should one be in a hurry to continue on his way and the other want to pause to chat, the situation may be awkward and tense, the behavior of the two at cross purposes, and the interaction consequently ineffective Under these conditions, a common objective may, however, arise as a function of the situation The conversationally inclined person may introduce an interesting subject for discussion. On the other hand, the one who is disinclined to tarry may lead the talkative one with him down the street or organize the situation for immediate dissolution.

In addition to the foregoing, there are a number of other factors, the presence or absence of which may facilitate effective interaction

adjustment tend to have similar conversational interests (S M. Stoke and E. D. West, 1931).

in a specific situation. Among the most important of these is the physical environment or setting of the situation.* Lecturers know the importance of an adequate and comfortable auditorium Actors are keenly aware of the extent to which audience reception of their program may be influenced by the theater in which they are playing, and stage directors know that the "atmosphere" of a stage setting influences not only the audience but the players as well Business and other executives have elaborate offices partly because these may facilitate conferences with subordinates and customers The physiological states of the people who make up the situation are also significant. The sober man who finds himself in the midst of a drunken brawl is not likely to merge with the group. Thus one sober member may dampen the enthusiasm of a group of inebriates who are "all set" to act in a given way. On the other hand, one intoxicated person may, because of the nature of his reactions, break up the interaction existing among the members of a sober group Fatigue, like alcohol and some drugs, may facilitate interaction in some situations and inhibit it in others. In some sorts of situations, as we shall later see, effective interaction is dependent upon the development of strong covert responses on the part of the participants during the course of the interaction itself

ASPECTS OF SITUATIONAL INTERACTION

For purposes of scientific analysis we may break down the interactional situation into a number of aspects This is of course somewhat artificial; collective behavior is the consequence of all aspects of the situation, just as the behavior of the individual is the result of a total personality rather than of some special element thereof. But, even as we may dissect the personality for analytical purposes, so may we also dissect the interactional situation.

Origin and Membership.—The inception and personnel of interactional situations vary considerably. In terms of the antecedent forces or events that have led certain people to come together at a given place and time, situations range in type all the way from those which are culturally established to those which are fortuitous or accidental. The presence of a man, his wife, and his two children

* For a general discussion of the effects of the physical environment, particularly climatic, on interactions see V E Shelford's chapter in *A handbook of social psychology* (C. Murchison, ed , 1935)

A very elaborate and impressive set of experiments that calls attention to a number of important physical factors is reported in *Problems of installation in museums of art* (A W Melton, 1935)

at the dinner table is the outgrowth of a multitude of prior situations that can be described only in abstraction and as a social plan or institution of family organization. The situation is traditional, conventional, or normal for the given society. Not only is the time and place a customary thing, but the membership has been determined by a customary procedure.

In extreme contrast to such a situation is the meeting on Fifth and Broadway of three strangers waiting for the "go" signal. So unascertainable are the events that have led to this particular situation that we can describe it only as accidental. The meeting was not prearranged in accordance either with some system of social organization or with individual design. It just happened, and its membership is unselected Almost anyone can encounter almost anyone else at Fifth and Broadway But only members of a family can sit down to dinner with their family, and family membership is a highly controlled and sharply defined thing

Leadership.—The role of the individual must not be overlooked in the study of the interactional situation. He is the element from which situations are formed, and without individuals to behave, there could be no collective behavior. This would seem an obvious enough fact; but it can easily be lost sight of when large numbers of individuals are included within an interaction, and the role of each is, consequently, relatively small.

Situations vary in the degree and extent to which they are dominated by one member of the group. Such domination is usually spoken of as leadership. On one extreme are those situations in which one individual is steadily and persistently dominant His leadership is, of course, a function of the situation, since without the presence of the other members he could not be domineering As we shall see, the leader is led, in that he must direct his course of action in terms of the personalities of those he leads. As an individual the leader, however, reacts much less to any other individual in the situation than any one of the others reacts to him. This point was made, it will be recalled, in the analysis of the attribute of leadership in the chapter on individuality

Situations in which there is one dominating personality may be further distinguished in terms of the nature and antecedents of that leadership. The lecturer in the classroom leads because it is conventional for him to do so. Behind his leadership is a long and complex process of selection, and his position as leader depends less upon his particular personality than upon factors that may have nothing to do with his immediate fitness for leadership In contrast

to such situations are those in which leadership is arrived at by competitive struggle among the members of the group. Here attributes of individuality may be the determinants of the person of the leader, as is the case when the most talkative member of a group comes to dominate the conversation or when the most qualified man rises to the position of leader in an emergency.

In contrast to situations in which there is a specific and continuous leader are those in which leadership is reduced to a minimum and shifts from member to member. Such situations may also be divided into those in which the shifts in leadership follow a predetermined pattern or process and those in which they are a consequence of person-to-person give and take. The former are exemplified by the leadership process in a game of bridge In accordance with a fairly definite formula (we are speaking of bridge played in a systematic fashion) leadership shifts around the table and is limited in degree to becoming the leader upon securing the bid In a conversational interchange, on the other hand, there is a shifting of leadership arrived at in considerable measure by trial and error. Although we may have a sense of what is appropriate, there are no definite rules; and the leadership of such a situation is both loose and subject to moments of instability, as is the case when two leaders emerge simultaneously

TYPES OF INTERACTIONAL SITUATIONS

Analytical versus Descriptive Approaches.—In succeeding chapters we shall analyze in some detail the origin, membership, and leadership processes found in typical interactional situations. It is obviously impossible to describe the multitudinous forms of human action that fall into the concept of collective behavior History, anthropology, ethnology, political science, economics, and sociology make such descriptions and endeavor to find some pattern of recurrences in the phenomena so described. Just as social psychology does not attempt to describe all the various forms of human nature or of individuality manifest in societies of the past or present, it does not attempt to describe all the forms of the behavior of men in interactional situations. To do so would be to repeat, perhaps in slightly different terms, what scientists in other fields are doing.

Our task, then, is not so much that of describing forms of collective behavior as of analyzing the ways in which interactional situations arise, the processes of leadership involved, the factors conditioning the course of interaction, and the methods by which the situations are resolved The forms of collective behavior may be in marked contrast to one another; but from the sociopsychological viewpoint

the situations in which these contrasting forms of behavior evolve may be very much alike. In old China a man ordinarily preceded his wife through a doorway, whereas in modern America a man generally gives his wife precedence. The behavior is quite dissimilar, but in terms of the interactional processes the situations are of the same order.

Multiplicity of Situational Types.—From analysis of various situations and by comparison of those occurring among primitives with those of civilized peoples and those occurring among the peoples of history with those of the present, the concept of situational types arises. In the rather brief analysis that follows, the various types of interactional situations will be classified mainly in terms of the leadership involved. On this basis four general categories, each with a number of subclasses, emerge. situations in which leadership is culturally designated, those in which leadership is determined by individual initiative and operates on the basis of direct contact, those in which leadership is determined by individual initiative and operates though distant contact means of communication, and those in which leadership is determined mainly by fortuitous factors.*

In the past students of collective behavior have been prone to focalize attention largely upon those situations in which the behavior is abnormal—those involving the mob, the crowd, the boom, the craze, the mass movement, and others in which there is a rapid swing away from the norms of social action Significant though they may be, the stressing of situations of this type to the exclusion of all others is comparable to the recounting of the history of social life in terms of wars. Wars have been frequent and recurrent during the last few centuries; they are spectacular and impressive. But the history of wars is only a small part of the history of a society. To consider only the unusual types of interactional situations is to give a biased picture of the processes of collective behavior, much as the history of wars gives us a biased idea of the past—or as the newspaper with its stress upon individual and social catastrophe provides the reader with a severely distorted picture of his times To avoid such distortion in social psychology, we must study the commonplace as well as the unusual and must not assume that we comprehend a thing simply because it is commonplace.

This caution is felt necessary because of the general tendency to assume that the key to social behavior has been found once it is explained why a man, normally peaceful, suddenly becomes a raving

* A more detailed and inclusive classification than that presented here is to be found in *Collective behavior* (R T. LaPiere, 1938*a*)

member of a maddened mob. The fact is that we have still to discover why this same man may kiss his wife upon one occasion, beat her the next, and "make up" a few moments later; why he gives good money for useless goods at one time and refuses to take advantage of a real bargain at another time; why he will sing in church but will blush and stammer if asked to sing at home. These latter and countless other typical situations are quite as important quantitatively and qualitatively as that in which the man becomes a member of a mob.

Metaphysical Concepts.—As was pointed out in Chapter III, it is dangerous as well as misleading to speak or think of society as an entity. Likewise, to speak of a social mind, of the spirit of a people, or even of such a commonplace as the public is to run the danger of being taken or of taking oneself literally. Such "entities" exist only as unrealistic concepts of the observer, comparable to such imputed personifications as God, Satan, and Destiny. Since all we know about them is what we believe—and anyone's belief is as good as another's—it is impossible to extend our knowledge of them by any method, scientific or otherwise.

The behavior of men in various interactional situations has some continuity and forms something of a pattern, much as the separate notes of a musical instrument may form a musical series or pattern. No one would extend the observation that music is a pattern to the conclusion that notes as such have no existence or that they are but manifestations of the spirit, soul, mind, or anything else of the piece of music. Likewise the fact that collective behavior, as appearing in a long series of situations, may be seen to form a pattern or system is no reason for imputing to this behavior any sort of collective mentality, group soul, or other metaphysical entity. Yet this is what is done by those who think and speak of collective behavior as though it were an expression of some collective entity. To do this is to deny the reality of the individual human being, to disregard the fact that all collective behavior arises through the mechanism of individuals, and to close the field of collective behavior to scientific investigation. Thus in imputing to collective behavior some abstract cause, one reduces the student of such behavior to the method of falling into a quasi-religious spell, from which he will emerge with a final and absolute "truth," derived from the substance of his own preconceptions. As scientists we must realize that society is a perceived abstraction, that the study of collective behavior is susceptible to objective methods, and that truth arises from factual analysis rather than from some inner feeling. There is much that is still unknown; but there is no reason to assume that that which remains to be revealed is of a different order from that which has already been uncovered.

CHAPTER XVIII

CULTURAL LEADERSHIP SITUATIONS

CONVENTIONAL SITUATIONS

The exceeding complexity of even the simplest interactional situation makes analysis difficult and makes the effort to compare and classify various situations somewhat baffling. As a starting point for our analysis it might be well, therefore, to consider the hypothetical situation of two men meeting on a very narrow path. To pursue their individual objectives, they must somehow contrive to pass each other. This means that they must inevitably interact, since the behavior of each is significant only in terms of the behavior of the other. From our own casual observation, we know that such a situation can be resolved in one or another of many possible ways. One man may step aside to give the right of way to the other, they may both step aside halfway; they may argue which one is to have the right of way; they may fight the matter out, the stronger securing the right of way; they may even resolve the situation by one man's turning around and preceding the other down the path.

Our problem, however, is not what they do, but how they come to do whatever it is that is done. In this respect we may distinguish three basic and in a sense mutually exclusive types of adjustment: first, if they have never faced such a problem before, they may be forced to the trial-and-error devising of an adequate pattern of interaction, second, if they have met on this or on another path before, they may this time utilize the adjustment technique that they have previously devised; finally, they may employ a conventional method of adjustment that has been handed down to them as a part of their social heritage

Conventional Patterns of Interaction.—It is with situations involving an adjustment of the last order that we are here concerned. Whenever an adjustment problem is immediate, has no long-run implications, and concerns only those directly involved, a conventional pattern of interaction may be utilized by the members of the situation. The character of the collective behavior that will emerge from the situation is, of course, dependent upon the conventional forms of the people involved.

Even for the meeting of two people on a narrow path there is no single, universal, conventional pattern of interaction It was, for example, conventional in old China for the peasant to step aside to give his social superior the right of way Furthermore, that this might be effective, it was conventional for the superior to take the right of way Each, as it were, knew his place and took it The eventuality of social equals meeting on a narrow path, in a doorway, or in any situation of like order was also provided for in convention Here the elder took precedence, the younger stepping aside And should they be of similar age, it was conventional to go through a preliminary giving-precedence-to-the-other ritual, which led ultimately to the more impatient member's actually taking the lead.

All this might seem an unnecessarily complex and time-consuming method of resolving a trivial situation But in comparison to the difficulties that might arise were there no conventional formula, it is exceedingly effective. What happens when our own convention of passing on the right breaks down and two people spend a number of moments in embarrassing trial and error in order to pass on the widest of streets indicates the social necessity for conventional forms.

Like all other culturally determined situations, conventional situations involve a minimum of trial and error, there is in them little dependence placed upon any individual member as leader or organizer, and highly effective interaction is attained because each individual member of the situation has learned a customary mode of response which fits into the responses of the other members. This does not mean that the members are necessarily like each other in the sense that they have identical modes of reaction, but rather that each knows his special part—he is either the one to step aside or the one to take the right of way. But should they have been trained into different systems of adjustment, they will conflict and thus be forced to resort to trial and error in working out an adjustment to the situation

Conventional patterns of interaction are a matter of momentary convenience only and serve the interests of those immediately involved in the situations in which these patterns appear. Many culturally determined patterns, on the other hand, have a function that transcends the specific situations in which they appear and serves the interests of the entire social group rather than just the situational membership The situations in which such patterns emerge are always related to many prior situations and lead to many subsequent situations, the entire sequence of which constitutes an institutional constellation.

INSTITUTIONAL SITUATIONS

The Institutional Basis of Behavior.—The sociologist often speaks of systems of human relationship—the family, feudal, clan, tribal, and village systems—as social institutions * Specific methods of economic or governmental procedure—monogamy, private property, public education, democratic government, etc.—are also termed institutions. Institutions are, thus, the perceived patterns of social organization. Each institution has some special function or functions but is of course coordinated with and dependent upon the other institutions of the society (63)

Institutions and the Institutional Situation.—The sociologist, economist, political scientist, and social historian are concerned primarily with the development, characteristics, changes, functional relationships, etc , of institutional patterns Thus they may trace the historic emergence of the patriarchal family as a social institution, plot the changes that historically have occurred in that institution, and describe its disintegration under the impact of modern industrialism. All this, it will be recognized, is study of the system of human relationships that comprises the institution of the patriarchal family rather than of the behavior of the individual men and women adjusting themselves in specific situations to the presence of one another.

The social psychologist, on the other hand, is concerned with the behavior of the individual men and women and with why it arises on the situational level Once it is well established with the individual, such behavior involves an order of person-to-person interaction in which trial and error plays little part, as is indicated by the fact that the pattern of that interaction appears over and over and has a history that transcends the life of the members of any situation in which it appears. The social psychologist must, consequently, go

* The term "institution" suffers from a multiplicity of meanings, as a consequence it frequently means nothing at all Hertzler in his book *Social institutions* (J O Hertzler, 1929) fails after two hundred and fifteen pages to arrive at a clear-cut definition of his title phrase. The concept that we wish to symbolize by the term "institution" will no doubt become apparent to the reader, especially as we distinguish between institutionalized and noninstitutionalized behavior. For other and often contrasting usages see "The nature of institutions" (F. H Allport, 1927); *An introduction to social psychology* (L. L Bernard, 1926); Chaps II and III in *An introduction to sociology* (C A Dawson and W. E. Gettys, 1929), Chap XII in *General sociology* (H P. Fairchild, 1934), W. H. Hamilton's article, "Institutions" (*Encycl Soc. Sci.*, **8**, 84–89), *Social life and institutions* (J Hart, 1924); *The psychology of social institutions* (C H Judd, 1926), and pp. 15 and 16 in *Society: its structure and changes* (R M. MacIver, 1931).

beyond the immediate interactional situation and seek in the institution an explanation of how the members came to behave in the way that they do. How, in other words, does it happen that the pattern of interaction in some situations is not only recurrent but is of such a character that it can be seen to be merely a part of a large constellation of situations?

The collective behavior emerging from institutional situations may range from that of ritualistic human sacrifice upon the altar of the sun god to nothing more startling or impressive than a man and his wife climbing into the same bed But all institutional situations have in common the fact that their inception, function, membership, and the person of their nominal leader are determined by the social heritage

ATTRIBUTES OF THE INSTITUTIONAL SITUATION

Origin.—Since the origin of social institutions lies in the history of a people, the origin of any specific situation of institutional order is to be found in some special circumstances of the social training of the members of that situation All culturally determined situations have their antecedents; but a clear distinction can be drawn between the unplanned encounter of two men on a narrow path and the prearranged meeting of a man and a woman at an altar, there to enter into a marriage contract. The former situation may be resolved in accordance with a customary formula, but there is in its origin little of the systematic social preparation of the individuals involved, the cultural anticipation, and the social significance which have led to the latter

Although each of the men who meet on the path may have been prepared by prior experience to adjust in a given way to anyone he so meets, he has not been prepared to adjust to this specific man at this specific time and place. The origin of the situation is therefore in a sense fortuitous The lives of these two men have not been so organized as to make this specific encounter one of a series of related situations. What they do when they meet may be culturally predetermined, but the meeting itself is a consequence of individual factors and thus of antecedent behavior that is only in slight degree related to the situation itself. One man may have been on his way to town to sell produce grown in his garden; the other may have left the town simply to take a stroll in the hills

Constellations of Situations.—An institutional situation, however, originates in closely related antecedent situations The meeting of a young man and woman, their parents, and others, with a priest or

minister in a church at high noon is not a chance encounter It is the culmination of a multitude of correlated activities on the part of the individuals concerned. Under the highly institutionalized conditions of times past, a marriage was arranged with little if any initiative on the part of the bride and groom. They came together in accordance with the plan of their parents and were little more than pawns in the operation of the family system. To understand their meeting, we must therefore look first to that system. Only then does any one of the series of events, such as the decision that Son John was to be married to the daughter of such and such a family, become meaningful

The cultural origin of institutional situations makes for an elimination of individual trial and error * This fact can, perhaps, best be seen by contrast Although with us marriage is normal, it can hardly be termed fully institutional Today the presence of a man and woman at an altar may be a consequence of much individual initiative and of considerable individual trial and error But in the old family systems, both Occidental and Oriental, a marriage was but one of a large constellation of situations, each related to all the others. The origins of all these situations lay in the institutional patterns.

Under social conditions more stable than those we know today, a considerable proportion of the situations in which the individual participated were institutional. Neither he nor any of his contemporaries had devised these situations, nor were they in any sense fortuitous. They were but elements of a larger social plan, devised in the past and handed down generation after generation more or less intact.

The monks assembled for the evening benediction, a gathering of the village elders in a primitive community, the king presiding at his court, and the family sitting at the dinner table are groupings that have their origin in institutional constellations Most obvious is the fact that religious or other ceremonial situations are formulated in accordance with some definite institutional law There is, for example, little that is fortuitous in the meeting of a number of people at high mass in a Roman Catholic Church even in these days of social

* There is a measure of trial and error involved in the formation of even the most highly institutional situation, since it is human initiative that puts into operation the plan resulting in any meeting of people The decision, for illustration, that Son John would marry a specified girl was probably arrived at in family council But that he would marry and that his wife would be selected for him in accordance with a systematic procedure were all predetermined by his social heritage.

change. They have come together in accordance with a complex social plan Their individual actions have been socially directed, coordinated, and systematized, to the end that they should meet at this given place at this specific time. Even a funeral, itself a series of connected but distinct situations, cannot be said to have originated in the accident of death. Death is but the sign or signal for predetermined social forms to come into operation Less obvious, perhaps, is the institutional origin of such situations as that in which a woman and a number of children sit at table with bowed heads while a man, the husband and father, expresses their collective thanks for the food spread before them Such a situation may be as fully institutional as that in which a minister says, extending a bit of bread to his parishioner, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee. . . . "

Ideological versus Actual Function.—Since it is but a part of a system of situations, no institutional situation can be understood in terms of itself alone The function of any institution is the guidance of the individual into modes of behavior that assist in one way or another in the maintenance of group life. The interaction that occurs in an institutional situation is therefore but a single step toward a distant social goal.

Seldom, however, is there any conscious recognition by the members of an institutional situation that their behavior has a long-run institutional or group objective. The rules and regulations for individual conduct incorporated in early Christianity were those developed in part at least from the experiences of the Hebrew peoples The "good life" was one that appeared to contribute under this particular system to long-run and collective welfare. Each element was a mode of conduct that men had found reasonably effective and adequate in terms of the given social order. But the explanation for adherence to the specific institutional patterns was supernaturalistic, *i.e* , based upon the idea of divine law The Jewish avoidance of pork had its utilitarian basis in the danger of trichinosis or other infection The Chinese avoidance of unboiled water was a sanitary measure Yet both these practices were "explained" on the basis of supernatural forces * Even in present-day theology utilitarian arguments are

* Even in the field of the arts, practices that have quite obviously grown out of human trial and error have often been explained in terms of divine or magical forces. Both the ancient Greeks and Chinese explained their failure to use in their music any but the simplest musical ratios (1 · 2, octave, 2 · 3, fifth, and a few others) on the grounds that more complex ratios would offend the gods The Greeks would not use ratios in which the numbers six and seven appeared because

seldom used. It is not claimed that one should love his neighbor because this is essential to the social system or because the effective functioning of the system is necessary to the welfare of the individual Rather, the principle is justified in terms of divine command, as is clearly indicated by the fact that even the most obviously expedient of institutional practices is invariably given a mystic or supernaturalistic explanation.

When, as frequently happens, the long-run social significance of a situation is camouflaged beneath ritualistic and symbolic action, a distinction arises between the purported function and the true function of that situation. The purported function is an ideological justification, a humanly satisfying "explanation," for actions that are really significant not in themselves but only in terms of a larger pattern. The distinction between ideological justification and true function can be clearly seen in the behavior of a Chinese woman boiling water to "drive off the evil water spirits." She does not know it, but in boiling the water she is actually doing her part to prevent an epidemic of cholera.

The vital function of any institutional situation can be seen only upon study of the entire institution of which it is a part. The ideological justification, on the other hand, usually makes the situation appear to be of some immediate and personal value to the members. The primitive initiation rites serve to mark the individual's transition from childhood to maturity. Only as a part of the system of social education, therefore, do such rites function. But the boy who is just reaching sexual maturity cannot be expected to understand the sociological and sociopsychological significance to him and to his group of transition from one group membership to another. Thus the initiation rites, like other institutional situations, are related to spirit-world concepts and are thereby given personal significance and interest As we have already indicated, religion provides the individual with an effective pattern of adjustment to the fact of ultimate death and gives him an abstract and unfailing life goal But the primitive with his bag of ancestral bones, the Oriental with his ancestral shrine, and the Christian with his altar, cross, and prayer book seldom see this ultimate function in the rituals through which they go. The purported function of a church service may be to secure for the

six and seven were magical numbers (e.g , there were six directions—north, south, east, west, up, and down) The Chinese would not use ratios in which the number five appears because five was the number of life fundamentals (e.g., there were five directions—north, south, east, west, and center; five human relationships—between king and subjects, father and son, brothers, husband and wife, and friends)

participants a desirable status in life after death or, perhaps, to control through divine supplication the course of natural events But the actual individual and group functions of that situation can be discerned only in terms of the entire system of institutionalized religion and are seldom, perhaps never, understood by the participants at a religious ceremony.

Flags, banners, robes, uniforms, thrones, altars, titles, etc , are the material accouterments used in the more ritualistic of institutional situations They, like the rituals themselves, are highly symbolic But beneath the symbolic behavior of a ceremonial situation, as with the more commonplace and less colorful behavior of other institutional situations, there is usually some definite, utilitarian social function *

Membership in Institutional Situations.—Inasmuch as institutional situations are but units of a larger constellation, membership in such situations has continuity. The men on the path may never meet again, but the members of an institutional situation will come together time after time In order that they will interact in the predesignated mode, it is essential that the individuals entering into any specific situation be prepared not only for it but for all others of its constellation This means, in turn, that situational membership must be controlled Only those who are prepared to play their specific roles, not only in it but in all related situations, can be permitted to participate in an institutional situation. The mechanisms by which a social system assures that the members of any institutional situation will be adequately trained to that situation and to others of the same constellation are an intimate part of the total social pattern and are exceedingly complex

Training for Membership.—The processes of socialization, which were discussed at some length in Part II, are directed toward preparing the individual for social membership Not all such training, of course, is directed toward fitting the individual for membership in institutional situations Under conditions of social stability, however, the processes of socialization consist largely of shaping the individual's personality in such a way that he will react in accordance with his socially designated role in situations of an institutional order.

We have had occasion to observe, from time to time, some of the ways in which, and the extent to which, children are socially prepared

* The functional place of ritual in a social system is primarily the concern of the sociologist and the anthropologist. Yet it is imperative that the social psychologist recognize the fact that rituals, however incomprehensible in themselves, may be of great significance when examined in their social context See R Benedict's article "Ritual" (*Encycl. Soc. Sci.*, **13**, 396–397) for a more detailed expression of the point.

for situations long before those situations actually arise. In particular, we have noted the manner in which society guides the psychological growth of the individual, preparing him for the dynamic adjustments necessitated by factors of physical and social maturation. A contrast was shown between the lack of system in our present milieu and the exceedingly systematic preparation in stable societies for such critical life transitions as sexual maturity, attainment of occupational, marital, and parental status, and the coming of middle and old age.

The vital importance to individual psychological welfare of adequate and appropriate preparation for future events is apparent. Moreover, it is as important for the group as for the individual that the latter be adequately prepared for situational adjustment. Thus, in the old order, it was necessary for family welfare that a son or daughter be so brought up that he would behave in the ways prescribed by the family system. The failure of a parent to train a child properly not only reflected discredit upon the parent but meant that the parent would suffer discomfort in those institutional situations of which the child was a member. Presumably because it worked most effectively, the socialization of prospective institutional members— *i.e.*, children— for a particular situation was largely the responsibility of the members of that situation. Since they would bear the most immediate and apparent consequences of educational failure, they could be depended upon to do their best in directing the personality development of the child into institutional patterns.

As a result, membership in institutional situations has in the past been largely a matter of birth. It must not, however, be supposed that blood kinship is the cause of effective person-to-person adjustments in institutional situations. Biological relationship can make for more effective person-to-person adjustments only when it facilitates educational efficiency. As a matter of fact, in some social systems blood kinship has not been significant in personality development.*

Selection of Members.—Birth, then, is not the sole basis for membership in institutional situations. The monks in a monastery were not necessarily related by birth; obviously, recruiting of new members had to be from other then blood-kin sources. Under certain of the older family systems, the women were recruited from sources outside the family; they were nevertheless members of many institutional situations in which the others had been born to membership

* In Samoa, for example, parents often have exceedingly little to do with the training of their children. The education of children is here a responsibility of the community (M. Mead, 1928).

It is apparent that, if the monks were to adjust to one another in an institutional fashion and if the wives of a family were to interact in a predesignated mode with other members of the family, some selective process must have operated to assure that each individual of outside origin would know and behave in accordance with his specified social role. To this end, every functioning social institution has involved some systematic procedure for selecting new adult members from all those persons available.

It is perhaps with the process by which families of the old type selected the wives for their sons that we can most clearly perceive the organic working of the total institutional pattern to the end that each situation would resolve with the least possible resort to individual trial and error. Under present conditions the selection of spouses is, as was previously remarked, a relatively uncontrolled and haphazard affair. Marriage, the establishment of a presumably permanent relationship between a man and a woman, is not now the integral part of a larger constellation of family situations that it once was. Like some of the primitives to whom we have already referred, we today permit and depend upon a considerable degree of trial and error in the individual selection of marriage partners.

In the old patriarchal family system, however, it was imperative that a wife be satisfactory not only to her husband but to his father, mother, brothers, their wives, and to all the others who lived under a common roof. Many of the situations in which they would behave were highly institutional. Unless a girl was properly prepared to play her role as a wife, daughter-in-law, and sister-in-law before she came to the family of her husband, that family would have to educate her. By selecting her in accordance with a traditional system, they assured themselves that such education would be unnecessary. Contractual marriage may strike us as contrary to the "laws of God or of nature." But upon close examination it appears that this method on the average assured that a wife would fit the family of her husband; and there is no reason to suppose that the absence of what we term "romance" necessarily made the relationship between husband and wife any less satisfactory. Although they may not have met previously, the bride and groom were, after all, prepared to accept each other.

Leadership of Institutional Situations.—The character and extent of leadership is one of the most indicative attributes of an interactional situation and provides us with a significant key to its situational type. An outstanding aspect of institutional situations is the subordination of the individual to the institutional pattern. Each individual member acts in the main according to a designated institutional role. The

presence of the members and the pattern of their interaction are not determined by the personality of any single member, and there is scant opportunity for the display of individual initiative or the appearance of trial and error.

Although institutional behavior involves little trial and error and is guided by the system rather than by individual initiative, we can discern in every such situation some one individual who is designated as leader, even though his leadership is no more than nominal. He neither selects nor devises the pattern of interaction, but is simply the focal point of interaction and the one who provides cues that guide the other members in the enactment of their separate roles. The designated leader of an institutional situation is therefore somewhat analogous to the conductor of an orchestra, who does not devise the music but who guides its rendition.

The institutional mechanisms by which the person of the designated leader of institutional situations is determined are comparable to those mechanisms by which members are selected and trained. The most common bases for selection are heredity, age, and sex. Thus in the old patriarchal family system the nominal leadership of all situations involving members of a family and members of some other family devolved upon the eldest son of the eldest son of that family. In the absence of the patriarch, his eldest son or, when the latter was too young to act the part, the eldest of the patriarch's brothers was the designated leader. Under the feudal system the same sort of mechanism was operative and became the basis for the hereditary position of kings, princes, and the petty nobility.

Limitations of Institutional Situations.—It must not be concluded from the foregoing that the interaction of two or more human beings in a situation of the institutional type is automatic (64). Even the more fundamental and persistent of institutional forms are little more that a framework for social life. In a sense they are a social generalization from past group experience, which is handed down in a systematic fashion from generation to generation. Elaborate, complicated, interlocking forms of person-to-person adjustment, they are rule-of-thumb procedures for accomplishing social ends with the least possible resort to trial and error and with the least possible dependence upon the organizing ability and foresight of individual leadership. At best, institutional forms are more the pattern than the substance of human relationships. Within the pattern, there is invariably some noninstitutional interplay of the individuality of the members of the situation. It is this interplay that gives the "tone," the human qualities, to institutional behavior, just as it is subtle variations in the

rendition of a musical classic that make each performance somewhat distinctive.

Social Disorganization and the Institutional Situation.—Since situations of the institutional type are preorganized in terms of long-run social objectives and each situation is significant only to the extent that it fits into a pattern of prior and subsequent situations, social changes inevitably disturb the functional nature of institutional situations The institutional situations in which we find ourselves today and for which we have been adequately prepared in past experience are few, and the functional value of even these is open to question In a changing order much dependence, individual and collective, must be placed upon trial and error in the working out of situational adjustments As the reliability of old social forms declines, the role of the individual as a dominating factor becomes peculiarly significant; there is an increase in the importance of individual initiative, of inventiveness, and of those personality qualities that make for leadership under competitive conditions The rise of political demagogues, of spellbinders, and of great "salesmen" is an offset to hereditary rulers, traditional priests, and a communal form of economic life in which human behavior followed a socially designated form.

FORMAL SITUATIONS

The institutions of preindustrial Western society have all been disorganized and their functions largely destroyed by the revolutionary developments that have taken place in our means and methods of making a livelihood. But with a sort of despairing unwillingness to be cast loose into the stream of social change, we cling to the remains of some of the old institutions They have lost most if not all their original individual and group functions and now have only sentimental value. Much political, legal, economic, and dramatic symbolism is an appeal to values derived from practices that were appropriate to forms of institutional life no longer possible Many of the interactions in which we participate follow institutional forms but are devoid of institutional significance * They are, as it were, but a fragment of the skeleton of a body long since dead. Such situations may, for convenience, be designated as formal.

* Thus the church service, which once functioned as a part of the institution of religion, may now provide the members of a congregation with anything from recreation to social prestige. For example, the lower class Negro church provides its members with revelous outlets for sex conflicts, the middle class Negro church is mainly a social center; and the upper class Negro church, the members of which are relatively light skinned, serves primarily as a prestige source (R. A. Billings, 1934).

Social Decadence.—There is a pronounced tendency for the members of a disintegrating social system, especially for those of the so-called "upper classes," to become increasingly concerned with outward form in social relationships. This includes great emphasis upon the symbols of status—precedence in introductions, order of seating at formal dinners, and the like, fastidious regard for details of dress, speech,* etc.; and preoccupation with ritualistic observances In general, these formalities are elaborated fragments of old institutional patterns. But they are empty of institutional meaning and are used only for purposes of display.

Preoccupation with formalities to the exclusion of functional effectiveness is evidence of social decadence. Political, economic, and military aristocracies tend to become decadent in time. They cease to fulfill their function as leadership sources and come to devote the major part of their time and energies to going through the motions of being important. This decadence would seem to be a part of the process by which an established elite deteriorates and is finally dispossessed by members of a more virile and earthy "lower class"

Social decadence may, furthermore, affect the entire social system, lowering the functional efficiency of the members of the society to the point where the system disintegrates at the slightest attack from within or without.† Undoubtedly it was in part the preoccupation with formal observances that made the ancient Greek city-states easy prey for conquering armies, that made the Roman Empire subject to slave revolts and the inroads of the barbarians, and that more recently made the conquest of France a simple matter for the German military machine.

Contemporary American society is much too young in the historical sense, much too dynamic, and much too vulgar to be described as decadent.‡ There is, however, some tendency to preserve as formalities fragments from the old institutions that we inherited from Europe The Easter service, Mother's Day—the ritualization of old filial sentiments—debutante parties, socialite weddings, and elaborate

* For a discussion of the manner in which speech and dress parallel each other as symbols of status, see "Suggested parallels between speaking and clothing" (T Pear, 1935).

† Thus it was probably not the Spanish conquistadors but their own incredible ritualism that destroyed the Aztecs of Mexico. By the time the Spanish arrived, the major energies of the Aztec population were being devoted to the worship of the Sun God and a significant number of the population were being killed as sacrificial offerings See *Aztecs of Mexico* (G. C. Vaillant, 1941).

‡ But for a careful analysis of an entire system of formalized human relationships in America see *The etiquette of race relations in the South* (B. W. Doyle, 1937)

funerals are but a few of the more striking formalities of contemporary American life Each of these forms has its old institutional background, but it has lost its institutional significance *

Self-interest of Participants.—The truly institutional situation operates toward the furtherance of group and long-run ends. But when an institutional pattern becomes no more than formal, it then serves only individual and short-run interests Thus, many of the people who go to church on Easter Sunday do so because they wish to be seen by and to see the "right" people, to display their new hats and suits, etc † Many of the people who hold fashionable weddings do so because marriage can be made an occasion for the display of wealth, an opportunity to gain the attention of the socially important, or the like Many of those asked to attend such a wedding, a formal dinner, a debutante party, or even an ostentatious funeral will have been invited for what they can contribute to the occasion. Many of them will attend only if they feel that to do so will be profitable in some way for them individually.

The Formal versus the Actual.—In the formal situation there is usually a distinction between what happens on the surface and what is occurring behind the scenes. The institutional form is in fact often merely a means of making the true purpose of the situation less obvious. Thus the formal dinner may be but a screen for the fact that the host is repaying unpleasant social debts, trying to ingratiate himself with his employer, or endeavoring to bring together men who should be brought together for some business or political purpose The elaborate wedding may be but a polite way for the bride's mother to celebrate her successful disposal of daughter, to gloat publicly over the quality of the "catch," or to make a bid for acceptance into the "best" social circles.

Within the framework of the formal situation, almost anything can happen Personal leadership is, therefore, a significant factor in such

* An interesting illustration of the use of old institutional rites as the basis for grievous exploitation is the "racket" that commercial interests have made of death. One might think that of all human events, death would be least likely to be used as means of securing large and excessive profits But see J C Gebhart's article "Funerals" (*Encycl Soc. Sci* , 6, 527–529) and *Burial reform and funeral costs* (A. Wilson and H Levy, 1938)

† Private attitudes often differ markedly from publicly expressed or implied attitudes When a group of Methodists were asked to state their public views on baptism, 90 per cent held that sprinkling was the only proper way But when asked for their private attitudes, only 16 per cent held out for sprinkling Of a group of Baptists similarly queried, 67 per cent of the public attitudes favored immersion as the only proper form of baptism This figure fell to 17 per cent when the private attitudes were tapped (R. L Schanck, 1932).

interactions. The formal situation may, in fact, best be described as a competition between a number of individuals for leadership under the camouflage of an institutional procedure. The principal immediate difference between such situations and those which will be discussed in the succeeding chapter is that the former profess to be what they are not, whereas the latter are pretty much what they seem to be.

CHAPTER XIX

PERSONAL LEADERSHIP SITUATIONS

In the more stable social systems at least, the most vital human needs are satisfied through institutional mechanisms As we have indicated, these mechanisms subordinate the individual to the group and subordinate momentary considerations to long-run aims Individual needs of an immediate character generally secure their satisfaction, therefore, in interactional situations of other than the institutional type. We may term such situations personal leadership situations, for the pattern of situational interaction is primarily a function of the particular personalities who compose the situation and is only secondarily a matter of institutional antecedents Thus, although the individual needs from which such situations arise and through which they are organized are often incidental outcomes of institutional membership and are seldom in antagonism thereto, our approach to situations of this order must be the reverse of that which was utilized in the preceding chapter

CONGENIAL SITUATIONS

Basis in Recreational Needs.—Those personal leadership situations that function largely in terms of the recreational needs of the members constitute a special type, which can best be described as congenial All those groupings which occur within the larger social membership in terms of mutuality of special recreational interests belong to this type Thus, although a church service of a generation or two ago was institutional, the small groupings that formed outside the church after the service were of a congenial order. The younger boys formed one interactive group, the young girls another, adolescent boys and girls still another; and the adults sorted themselves out into still other groups. Such subdivision of the larger membership was based upon mutuality of interests in activities that were primarily of recreational value

The character of the interests of the members of such groupings was, of course, in some measure a reflection of institutional factors The character of any neighborhood is a consequence of institutional patterns—family, economic, political, and religious. Thus the similarities of interests on which the congenial gatherings of the neigh-

borhood are based are somewhat institutional in origin. Furthermore, since the members of such situations have been trained into specific institutional practices, the fulfillment of their mutual recreational interests cannot take forms of behavior that are definitely anti-institutional. This limitation upon behavior in congenial situations is, however, indirect rather than direct. The institutionalized personalities of the members operate only to prevent certain modes of interaction from arising

Function, an Automatic Check.—The interaction that does arise in congenial situations is primarily the result of individual leadership This interaction is mainly verbal; and the function is, as we have pointed out, recreational. The neighborhood women sitting on the porch on a summer's evening, the farmers gathered around the stove at the country store on a wintry day, and the workers refreshing themselves at the corner pub on their way home form recreational groupings. Such groupings arise out of individual needs. Unless those needs are satisfied in the situation, the members will soon drift away.

This tendency of the individual members to drift away unless they find the situation valuable to them means that no single individual can long dominate a congenial situation. The member of any congenial situation who likes to talk but is given little chance to do so will soon seek more congenial companions. Some individuals, of course, are quite content to be submissive; for them a situation is congenial in which strong and persistent leadership is present. But in the main the leadership of congenial situations shifts in rather unpredictable fashion. More specifically, it shifts in accordance with the competitive strivings of the individuals composing it. Such strivings are, however, limited first by the fact that the rewards for success are small and secondly because too much success, *i e.*, dominance, will disrupt the situation. The function of a congenial situation thus places an automatic check upon the leadership of it.

The "Bull Session."—The "bull sessions" common to any American campus furnish excellent illustrations of the congenial type of situation Proximity and similarity of interests, together with lack of anything more pressing to do, will bring two or more students together to discuss the coming examination, next Saturday's football game, last night's dance, or whatever it is that they are mutually interested in. Such groupings are a modern version of the gatherings of the young people of a generation or more ago after church, when they talked over the things that then interested young people, while their mothers dwelt upon domestic affairs and their fathers discussed business, crops, or the state of the nation

Modern Separation of Work and Play.—Under some conditions congenial situations have served a function in addition to that of satisfying recreational needs. The old-time husking bee and the various forms of mutual aid that were given at harvest time resulted in congenial situations from which there arose, by virtue of the effects of rivalry and of the division of labor, a very practical gain in work efficiency. Many communal work situations belong in this category and combine in a most effective way the presumably irreconcilable business and pleasure aspects of life. Under an older production system, even mowing a field or buying a pound of meat from the corner store was likely to have its sociable aspects.

One of the great disadvantages of modern productive techniques is that they force many workers to do their work in psychological isolation and make for a clear distinction between work and play. The old-time craftsman played and conversed as he worked, but the modern man at the machine has little time to engage in friendly intercourse the man working next to him * The imperative need for leisure time and leisure-time activities in the modern world is a direct consequence of the fact that modern industrial methods take much of the fun out of work. The commercialization of recreation which has come about in recent years can be traced to this fact and to the disappearance of the other congenial situations that formed so much and such a satisfying part of the life of the individual in the older order.

FUGITIVE PATTERNS

Rumor.—It is in the congenial more than in any other type of situation that there occur those processes that make for the rise of rumors and for the preservation of legends. A rumor is simply a story attached to some actual rather than fictitious person or to some actual rather than imaginary event (65). Rumors appear and spread as the consequence of the initiative of so many individuals that they are for all practical purposes unpredictable. They are, furthermore,

* The efficiency engineer is finally seeing the dangers associated with the psychological isolation that too often surrounds the modern workman. It has gradually become apparent that improvements in the physical surroundings of the worker do not necessarily result in increases in his output and that the quality of the relationships that exist between workman and employers is of paramount importance Employees who are encouraged to report grievances, who feel that their efforts are appreciated, and who think that the plant officials are genuinely anxious to improve working conditions (even though the company's actions actually make the conditions physically poorer) are the best workers. For an interesting discussion of employee morale see *The human problems of an industrial civilization* (E Mayo, 1933)

transitory and of momentary rather than long-run significance. We may therefore designate the rumor—as distinct from the many situations in which it develops and spreads as a fugitive pattern.

Sociopsychologically, there is nothing in the processes involved in their rise and spread which justifies distinguishing true from invalid rumors. Although the term "rumor" is often used as a synonym for "scandal," the latter is really but one aspect of rumor. Rumors may contribute to as well as detract from the reputation of the central character of the story. The scandalous are perhaps more characteristic, but complimentary rumors are commonplace. In terms of the effect upon the persons concerned in the story, it may matter greatly whether a rumor is true or untrue, complimentary or scandalous. But the process by which it spreads from person to person is the same whether the rumor is fact or fiction, laudatory or disparaging.

Drama and Authenticity in Rumor.—In spreading, the rumor tends to undergo certain characteristic changes, so that even those stories which originate in actual incidents become distorted. Like every good story, the rumor must acquire dramatic appeal; or it will soon pass out of circulation. As was indicated in another connection, the typical dramatic form, consisting of conflict between hero and villain, suspense regarding outcome, and the resolution of this conflict, seems to have universal human appeal. We cast most of our life experiences into this form, and we view the experiences of others in terms of this plot formula. Thus, whether it be an incident in which a man slips on a banana peel or one in which a baby chick pecks its way through its shell, a story becomes humanly interesting only as it is made dramatic. The chief difference between the raconteur and the club bore is not in the stories they tell but in the way in which they tell them. A good storyteller can dramatize the most trivial events, real or fictitious. Significant, therefore, is the fact that the rumor soon takes on attributes of the dramatic form.

There is another element that the rumor-story acquires in passage—an air of authenticity. However unreliable the original source, a rumor soon secures an "authentic" origin, which in some measure compensates for any lack of factual evidence. Thus the story that may have started as "I overheard someone say . . ." will in passage become attributed to some impeccable person who is believed to be in a position to know whatever there is to know about the people involved in the rumor.

The crystallization of the dramatic elements, including the addition of supplementary detail, and the acquisition of source authority are characteristic of all rumors. The factual basis for a rumor may be

no more than a suspicious action on the part of an unidentified person or a sound that might have been made by the explosion of a boiler; but should a story develop, it will soon be a neat little melodrama, tragedy, or comedy, with all the trappings of authenticity.

Conversational Rivalry and the Spread of Rumor.—Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of the rumor is the rapidity with which it may spread. Upon leaving Washington, a man may hear a rumor concerning an event said to have occurred there that day and upon arriving in San Francisco find that, although it has not supposedly appeared in the press, the story is common knowledge Such phenomena have led some students to impute quasi-supernatural attributes to the rumor process

But the fact is that rumors spread in a perfectly comprehensible way and gain their characteristic attributes through the mechanism of their spreading. This mechanism is the competition for conversational leadership among the members of congenial situations In congenial situations, as has been said, conversation is the principal activity; and rivalry stimulates each individual to do his best, which means doing such things as introducing a topic that is of general interest to the members of the group, telling a better story than the one just told, or adding details to that story Under such competitive bidding for conversational leadership, a rumor-story is likely to get "stepped up" in the retelling. The stepped-up story then becomes a part of the conversational stock in trade of the situational members, any one of whom may later use it in his bid for conversational leadership When he tells the story, he, like the one from whom he heard it, is likely to sharpen it, adding some details of his own and, if the tale is doubted, using as a source the name of someone with local prestige In retelling it, no two people will, however, step up the story in quite the same way, thus a rumor turns up in many forms and with great variation in detail and authority In time those elements which have survived in crossings of the various versions may be synthesized, and the rumor may become highly stereotyped

Conditions Making for Rumors.—In an intimate, settled community people know one another so well that a story concerning one of them will not be accepted and will not therefore spread as a rumor unless it is at least possible in view of the personality concerned. When the life of such a community follows its normal pattern, rumors concerning events will be comparatively accurate and comparatively few There will be much gossip and endless discussion of people and things, but the intimate character of the relations between such people will preclude much rumor building.

The less people actually know, the more they will depend upon story inventions to satisfy their desires to know.* A story of conduct, scandalous or otherwise, is therefore far more likely to be accepted at its face value when it is attached to the name of a comparative stranger in the community than when it is imputed to a man known to love his wife and to spend every night at home. Thus it is generally the person about whom little is known who is the one to become the hero of many rumors. These serve to fill in the gaps of public knowledge. The little known man must, of course, be interesting; and he must be a person known at least by name or by reputation to the members of a congenial situation. Otherwise a story about him will be of little value in the bid for leadership and, if told, will soon be forgotten

A university or college campus provides an excellent laboratory for the study of rumor. In the larger institutions particularly, students know rather little about the private lives of faculty members. For information they must depend in the main upon unverifiable rumors. Since a story about some faculty man who is unknown by name to the students will have little conversational appeal among them, it is with faculty "personages" that most rumors are concerned. A rumor originating on the basis of an incident involving an uninteresting man may become attached to such a personage. The latter is likely, therefore, to become a local stereotype, reputed to lead more lives than ten ordinary men. The sort of story that will be imputed to him will depend upon general student opinion of his character. If they like him, they will believe only the best of him, that best being, of course, their own interpretation of what is desirable in a faculty hero. Should they dislike him, his name will become associated with a multitude of disparaging stories.

✓ The rumor process is not, therefore, unrestricted To succeed in gaining attention, the rumor-story must be believable and in addition must be in accord with the general opinion concerning the central figure It is no doubt true that rumor is one of the most potentially tragic forces in social life. It can help to make a hero out of a cheap charlatan or can bring ruin to the honest and sincere.† Yet it is fairly safe to

* The remarkable extent to which the Russian people, when denied a free press, resorted to and became susceptible to rumors about national and international events is clearly brought out in "Stifled laughter" (E. Lyons, 1935). A somewhat similar dependence on rumor existed in 1934 among the earthquake sufferers of India (J. Prasad, 1935).

† The setting off of rumors for the purpose of discrediting political opponents has frequently been resorted to, particularly in presidential campaigns (J T Adams, 1932). It is doubtful, however, whether this mode of propaganda has

judge from the character of the rumors told about a person, not what he is, but what his standing in the community is. We may all enjoy the scandalous story, but we will not believe scandal of those we hold in esteem.

Rumor as a Substitute for Knowledge.—As has been suggested, rumor is a substitute for knowledge and thrives in ignorance Thus, in times of social crisis, when no one really knows what has happened, is happening, and is about to happen, the human desire to know makes any story concerning aspects of that crisis good conversation. At such times rumors generate, spread, and dissipate with astounding rapidity.

It has been said that an army lives on its stomach. It is equally true that an army lives on rumor. Under crisis conditions and with little actual knowledge of what is happening, soldiers on campaign figuratively live on rumor During wartimes the conversation of soldiers is necessarily restricted to matters of current life. Their congenial groups are more a consequence of proximity than of actual commonness of interest and similarity of background. Mechanic, farmer, laborer; men from east, west, north, and south; educated and uneducated men—they will have in common the fact that they do not know where they will be the next day, what they will eat, or any of the things that under normal conditions can be taken for granted. Consequently, the man who knows a man who has heard the captain say . can always get a hearing. In fact, one of the principal recreational activities of the more ingenious soldier is to start a rumor and hear it grow and grow, until at last it loses all recognizable form. Indeed, under these crisis conditions, many a man may be duped by his own rumor, so dramatic, detailed, and authenticated can it become in passage.

Civilians, too, become dependent during wartimes upon rumor for their "knowledge" of the momentous events that are happening all around them Even when the communications system does not break down, they soon become skeptical of the official news and eagerly listen to and pass on the latest rumor. This fact was cunningly made use of in World War II first by the Germans and later by the "democracies" in the so-called "war of nerves," during which every effort was made to undermine enemy morale.

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any significant effect upon the outcome of an election In the first place, the rumor process is entirely uncontrollable. A story intended to discredit an opponent often rebounds to his credit In the second place, the type of rumor that concerns the personal life of a candidate and gets general circulation reflects his status among his constituents far more than it affects that status

Legend.—A legend is a rumor that has become an established part of the verbal heritage of a people.* As a story it may explain the existence of a vacant house, the reason for a specific social practice, or anything that has long-time interest. Legends have leadership value in the presence of strangers to the community and of children to whom they have not yet been told. Obviously, few of the rumors in circulation at any time will have sufficient survival value to become legends. A story soon becomes tiresome, or events make it archaic.

The constant turnover in the student population of a university or college, however, forces the individual to depend to a considerable degree upon local legends for his knowledge of even recent events This fact speeds up the legend-making process. As each freshman class comes in, the rumors of last year gain new value. The freshmen will listen to a story that is new to them but old to the rest of the students. Thus, because of the shifting population of a university, legends quickly develop around the personalities of the more outstanding students and members of the faculty Once established, a legend —even a complimentary one—may persist, regardless of public denial by the person with whom it is associated.

Other Fugitive Patterns.—The competitive bid for leadership in congenial situations may take other than conversational forms To the individual who is striving for leadership, there is frequently a significant advantage in being distinctive. This distinctiveness may consist of following the very latest fad or fashion It may involve use of a new slang word or catch phrase, knowledge of and interest in the latest game, ability to do the latest parlor trick—whether that be standing on one's head or talking glibly about the current best seller—or wearing clothes divergent in some way from those characteristic of the group. Except that it frequently involves action of a nonverbal sort, the spread of a fad is traceable to much the same process of competition in congenial situations that makes for the spread of rumor Other rapid and more vital shifts from the conventional in human behavior, such as the boom or the craze, also are diffused mainly through congenial situations

When we consider such widespread deviations as those involved in fads, fashions, booms, crazes, etc , we shall therefore have occasion to refer to the congenial type of situation A fashion may originate in Hollywood; but if Mrs. Jones in Middletown takes it up, she does

* The terms "myth" and "legend" are often used synonymously. But the true legend deals with mundane affairs, whereas the term "myth" should be reserved for stories or moralistic tales of the supernatural (R Benedict, "Myth," *Encycl Soc Sci*, 11, 178-181).

so because it will give her prestige among her friends and acquaintances. If they in turn follow her lead, their reason for doing so is to bring them up to the level of Mrs. Jones and, perhaps more important, to give them prestige among those who have not yet adopted the new fashion

ARRANGED CONGENIAL SITUATIONS

Recreational Clubs.—Americans have been called a nation of joiners, and the number of clubs and associations to be found in most American communities gives factual support to this taunt. Such joining is actually an effort to secure the satisfactions that were once to be had from membership in informal congenial groupings The so-often-remarked fact that modern people have varied personalities makes it difficult for people of common interests, tastes, etc., to find one another without deliberate effort. No longer can a man expect to have much in common with his next-door neighbor, or a woman to find much satisfaction in talking with the women who live near by. As a consequence, those individuals who have most keenly felt the lack of congenial companions have established clubs of one sort or another. In a sense, therefore, we have by necessity come to cultivate that which once arose spontaneously. The character of the congenial situations that result from such efforts is suggested by the term "arranged"

The inadequacy of such efforts is attested by the high fatality rate of recreational clubs and associations In most American communities, there are always a number of informal clubs in the process of organization, and a number of others in the process of disintegration because the members were not actually congenial or, if congenial, simply were unable to find a time and place convenient to assemble Most clubs are therefore rather short-lived In a changing world it could hardly be otherwise

Some organizations, of course, have become so well established that the prestige value of belonging may offset the fact that the members are not particularly congenial. We have then what might be termed a "prestige club." In this case the satisfaction derived from belonging comes not so much from companionship with club members as from the prestige that membership in the club gives in the eyes of more congenial companions

Games.—Some device or other is utilized in many arranged congenial situations to offset the fact that the members are not completely congenial. These devices operate to assure each member an opportunity to enjoy some form of leadership The maintenance of a

large and wholly irrational number of officers, committee members, and other officials by the usual club organization is one such device. Games are another. In the game situation, athletic or otherwise, leadership shifts either in rotation or in accordance with competitive merit as determined by a set of arbitrary rules. In both cases there exists a mechanism that tends to prevent any one member from dominating indefinitely and therefore assures each member opportunity of assuming leadership.

Most closely related to the truly congenial are those situations in which games of a more passive order appear. A game of bridge is often little more than a substitute for conversation People commonly fall back upon such games when conversation drags. In view of the great diversity among modern people, it is not remarkable that the members of many arranged congenial situations should find difficulty in keeping up a stimulating and interesting conversation Their interests, fields of knowledge, and points of view are often so diverse that they must resort to some mechanized procedure for shifting leadership from member to member; or they will find themselves listening to a lecture on a topic interesting only to the speaker. When they have no more in common than the fact that they can play bridge or some other game, they may resort to this pastime as an acceptable substitute for monological conversation. Such games are stimulating in that they are competitive, in that they bring into play elements of skill, and in that they subordinate the other and possibly diverse personality traits of the members. In addition, they effectively limit the competition for leadership, which shifts in accordance with a fairly definite procedure—one that does not, however, eliminate the appearance of rivalry.

In contrast are such active games as baseball, basketball, etc These games do not limit competitive leadership to an effective degree, but, rather, secure congeniality by specifying the role of each member, a role for which he must be prepared by training. Unless the members of a team are almost equally competent, one member may secure and retain leadership, thus subordinating and discouraging the others When this happens, we have what is disapprovingly known as a "grandstander," a player who subordinates the welfare of the team to his own interests. Only when there is rotation of leadership can there be for long effective teamwork among the members of a game situation. The strife for leadership among team mates must be subordinated to the welfare of the team itself.

A game of this order actually involves two interlocking situations: the interaction of the members of each team and the interaction of the

teams. Thus, competition takes two somewhat distinctive forms: first, each member of a team endeavors to outdo his team mates without stepping from his assigned role and thereby destroying the pattern of cooperative action; second, the team as a whole competes with the other team Thus, in addition to the satisfaction derived from acting as leader of his own team (whoever has the ball is for the moment leader) are the satisfactions derived from rivalry with the other team and from the possibility of being a member of the winning team.

CONFERENCE AND COMMITTEE SITUATIONS

Formal Objectives of the Conference.—In apparent contrast to the situational subtypes so far discussed in this chapter are the conference situation and the committee situation—a variant of the conference and usually a consequence thereof (66). The members of such situations have come together for the professed purpose of solving a specific adjustment problem or of putting a plan into action. They have in some manner been selected in terms of their fitness for the task and are supposed to achieve a synthesized leadership in which no one member has a predominant part

The conference technique is relied upon to a considerable degree in government, business, and scientific affairs. The department heads of a corporation confer concerning some matter of general policy, scientists gather for a conference on their field of study; student representatives have a conference on some matter of general campus interest. Whatever the specific problem is and however the membership is selected, there is a presumed gain in efficiency through the process of synthesizing the inventive abilities of a number of individuals by the conference method.

There can be no doubt that at times two heads are better than one It is also highly probably that the sum of the knowledge of ten men is greater than the knowledge of any one of them But it does not follow, as certain conference-technique enthusiasts believe, that a policy of action that will be reached by ten men is certain to be more expedient than that designed by one. Still valid to a degree is the old adage that "too many cooks spoil the broth." In many problems that demand initative, ingenuity, and unity of purpose for their effective solution, some one individual will be best fitted to provide leadership. A conference of those who include that one person might conceivably serve the function of giving him an opportunity to display his powers

Recreational and Politic Functions of the Conference.—In actual operation, however, the conference is often nothing but an arranged

congenial situation that is well disguised. Even the conference of scientists may be more recreational than scientific. Like most human beings, the scientist likes to talk; but the specialized nature of his knowledge and interests makes it difficult for him to find congenial friends with whom he can talk shop. Periodic conferences give scientists in a specific field an excuse to get together. The recreational function of most business conferences is even more evident. Because conference members talk much and accomplish little, it has been ironically said that conferences and committees keep minutes and waste hours.

Executives of the larger business organizations often hold conferences for the purpose of giving their subordinates an opportunity to get acquainted and to develop a sense of unity of purpose The conference is in addition an effective safety valve, since it permits disgruntled subordinates to air their grievances and in so doing to indicate to the executive how far and in what directions he can assert himself without losing the good will of those upon whom he is dependent.

When there is a real problem to be solved, the Machiavellian leader—business, political, or otherwise— utilizes the conference as a means of making his subordinates believe themselves responsible for the solution at which he has already arrived. To this end, he may outline the problem that is before the conference or committee and then sit back to listen to the random suggestions offered, until some member makes one that fits or can be twisted to fit his own plan. He then asks all the members to consider Mr. So-and-so's suggestion In the discussion that follows, someone else may make a contribution to that suggestion. By the process of selecting those acceptable elements that arise through the give and take among the members, he may be able to dictate his personal solution to the problem, at the same time making each member feel in some measure responsible for that solution. Thus hearty cooperation will be secured, although with some sacrifice of the time and patience of the actual leader.*

EXCHANGE SITUATIONS

In the more commonplace congenial situations the members have come together because of similar interests and similar needs

* From the sociopsychological point of view the convention is but a sort of three ring-circus conference, whether it be a political convention in which a party platform and candidates are decided upon, a business convention upon which the good of the industry depends, or a Legion or Shriners convention at which little pretense is made of deciding anything

Although the interests may be anything from babies to political platforms, these situations function mainly to satisfy a need for recreational activities. This need is satisfied, as we have seen, principally through the relatively rapid shifting of leadership from member to member.

In contrast to congenial situations are those personal leadership situations that arise out of similarity of interests but divergency of needs The merchant and his customer are interested in a common commodity; but the one wants to sell, the other to buy Their interaction is directed toward the making of an exchange, in which a thing of one order, money, is given for one of another, the commodity. Although we commonly speak of conversation as an exchange, it is more accurately styled an interchange; the things exchanged—words, ideas, attention—are of a similar order The distinction between those personal leadership situations in which the needs are similar and in which an interchange takes place and those in which the needs of the members differ and in which an exchange occurs can best be seen when viewed in terms of leadership processes.

The Sales Situation.—As we have seen, the function of congenial situations places a mechanical check upon the tendency of one person to dominate the others; no one person can be leader for long In situations that grow out of similar interests but divergent needs, on the other hand, it is often entirely normal for the members to accept passively the leadership of one person. This is most apparent in the typical buyer-seller relationship in American contemporary society We today do not consider it quite proper for the customer to haggle with a merchant. The former must take the role of subordinate and listen patiently to the most asinine of sales arguments,* even when the salesman has sought him out. It is conventionally permissible to say "No," but to express doubt concerning the quality of the goods or to attempt to beat down the price at which a commodity is offered is generally considered bad manners Only the uncouth or the eccentric will struggle against the leadership of the seller, who, in his bid for dominance over the buyer, is restrained less by convention than by law. This characteristic of the buyer-seller relationship is a reflection of the nature of our present economic system.

* For books on the psychology of salesmanship see *Applied Psychology* (R. W Husband, 1932); *An introduction to applied psychology* (C R. Griffith, 1934); *Psychology in business and industry* (J G Jenkins, 1935); *Psychology of advertising* (H E Burtt, 1938), *Psychological aspects of business* (E. K. Strong, Jr., 1938); and *Psychology applied* (G W Crane, 1940)

Barter.—Such seller domination has not, however, existed at all times and in all places. In precapitalistic societies exchange of goods and services was effected through the medium of barter. The barter situation is one in which a buyer and seller compete on fairly equal terms for leadership; and, since their skills are comparable, they come at length to something of a compromise. Under such conditions the phrase "Let the buyer beware!" signified that he should look out for his own interests. A housewife and a merchant who haggled over the price of a piece of meat were struggling for leadership each over the other.

Under present circumstances, however, the typical buyer-seller situation is one in which conventional factors give leadership preference to the seller and reduce the buyer to passive resistance. To typify that situation, we might say that it is one in which the operating principle is "Let the buyer get caught." We have only to observe that, although many books have been written and courses offered on the art of salesmanship, the art of sales-resistance* has received relatively little attention, whereas that of getting the best of the seller—"buyermanship," it might be called—has received none at all. Consumer education has been at a minimum; seller education has received considerable and energetic attention.

The Clerk.—Contemporary buyer-seller situations may be roughly classified as those in which seller leadership is impersonal (advertising) and those in which it is personal. The situation is of the former order when the buyer goes to a store or shop prepared by advertising to purchase a specific article. In this instance the role of the seller may be no more than that of providing service—that of a clerk.† According to present standards, however, a good store clerk is one who can

* In a business-controlled society it is inevitable that any effort to enlighten consumers will be strongly resisted. But, in recent years, there has developed a considerable literature directed toward consumer education. In the main it takes the form of an endeavor to build up consumer sales resistance, not in the effort to get the best of the seller, but simply to protect the buyer's economic and physical welfare. Following the publication of *Your money's worth* (S Chase and F. J Schlink, 1927), there were organized two agencies for the collection and dissemination of information on "best buys." *Consumers' Research* and *Consumers Union* now appear to be well established. The rise of the consumer movement is also expressed in the growing number of books on consumer problems: *One hundred million guinea pigs* (A. Kallet and F. J. Schlink, 1932), *Skin deep* (M. C. Phillips, 1934); *Partners in plunder* (J. B. Matthews and R. E. Shallcross, 1935), and *Good health and bad medicine* (H. Aaron, 1940) See also "The repair man will gyp you if you don't watch out" (R W Riis, 1941).

† The distinction between the role of the salesman and that of the store clerk is elaborated in "Salesmanship" (L. Galloway, *Encycl. Soc. Sci.*, **13**, 519–521).

sell the customer either more than he has come to purchase or possibly a substitute for the article he seeks. When the buyer has been inadequately prepared by advertising, as is the case when he comes to the seller wanting a suit but having no specific suit in mind, the role of the clerk or salesman as a leader is of course self-evident. In the next chapter we shall see how advertising is an attempt so to dominate the buyer that he becomes resistant to the persuasions of the clerk who would sell other than the advertised article.

The Peddler.—The seller who seeks out a buyer is in a less favorable position than is the store clerk The peddler, whether he be a seller of books, insurance, or household gadgets, must secure and maintain active domination to be successful Since the situation originates in his own interests rather than in mutuality of interests, he must convince his prospect that what he offers is desirable In attempting to do this he may lack the support of convention or of advertising. He must therefore first create the need for his sales leadership and then proceed to provide that leadership His position is consequently a difficult one; for success depends upon skillful appeal to interests of the customer—such as that of seeing worthy young men go through college—which are extraneous to the thing he would sell. The ultimate in sales leadership is, of course, to sell something intrinsically worthless to a person who would have no use for the article if it had the virtues claimed for it and to obtain in return a sum far greater than the purchaser could afford to pay if the article were useful and if he had a need for it

AUDIENCE SITUATIONS

The term "audience" is commonly applied to a great variety of situations.* We shall restrict its use to those situations in which the person of the leader is designated and is to a high degree unshifting The audience situation is in some respects, therefore, not unlike the modern type of sales situation In the audience, however, the article "sold" is ordinarily intangible; and the buyers far outnumber the sellers.

Some audience situations are highly institutionalized and would be so classified were it not for the fact that the character of the leadership is not rigidly controlled by custom. When a minister turns from institutional ritual, which is designated for him, to his sermon, in the construction of which he may within limits use his own initiative, the members of his congregation become members of an audience

* For an extensive but largely theoretical treatment of the audience see *The psychology of the audience* (H. L Hollingworth, 1935)

He now becomes a true leader. The members of his audience are, however, so well prepared to accept his leadership that little effort is required to dominate them. Among other things, they have come to church prepared to hear a sermon and trained to accept the leadership of the minister in this situation Under such conditions, maintaining leadership is comparatively simple. The leader need not be particularly ingenious, forceful, or fluent, and his dramatic techniques can be stereotyped; for his audience is easily satisfied.

Theater Audiences.- In some contrast to such relatively institutionalized audiences are those of the contemporary theater. Modern theatergoers are "sophisticated" - they have heard and seen almost everything or so they are inclined to think. The Chinese may be content to see an ancient drama unfold in accordance with an age-old pattern; the backwoodsmen may be satisfied with an antiquated melodrama; but the members of a modern theater audience have come as buyers who must be sold satisfaction. Since they have paid for the privilege, they are highly critical. The leadership of a theater audience is, therefore, relatively difficult.

The play, revue, motion picture, or musical program must not offend the sensibilities of any considerable number of the audience members. It must operate within the limits of a relatively conventional pattern, yet it must be made to seem new and different. How much trial and error —and what a large proportion of error- - is involved in the formation of such leadership is indicated by the uncertainties of the legitimate play and by the conservatism of the motion-picture world. In the effort to achieve something new, playwrights, actors, and producers often produce unsuccessful plays In the effort to avoid such failures, motion-picture producers, actors, and script writers often deviate so little from the last box-office success that a new picture is quite obviously but an old one in new clothes.

Although there may be some fairly universal dramatic principles, it does not follow that there is a single and universal method of theater-audience leadership The dramatic theme must be one that is appropriate to the specific audience, and the appropriate theme must be communicated through symbols to which the members of the particular audience can respond in the appropriate way. Thus, what will be enthusiastically received on Broadway may be a failure in Middletown * It is also true that a play that is successful with an

* Producers of motion pictures have long known that their products cannot appeal equally well to all elements of the population. Some pictures have, therefore, been issued with two types of endings—a good or unrealistic one for the middle west and a bad or realistic one for the coasts The sophisticated coast dwellers

audience at one time may be quite inappropriate, in terms of either theme or symbols or both, for the same audience at another time. This is particularly true of the timely theme Some plays, however, do seem to have a remarkable degree of universality, and of course all plays—modern, ancient Greek, or the stylized classical plays of the Chinese—are built upon common dramatic elements *

Some of the other aspects of theater-audience leadership need only brief mention Fully as important as the play and its symbolization is the skill of the players. A good cast can satisfy an audience with a bad play, whereas a poor cast may ruin what might otherwise be a good play. Also important is the physical setting, perhaps more so in the theater than in any other audience situation Finally, extraneous factors, such as the weather, the condition of local and national affairs, and the physical condition of the audience (coughing and sniffling may distract members of the audience), all play their parts in determining the effectiveness of audience leadership †

Audience satisfaction would seem to come from vicarious participation in the action of a story This is ordinarily secured by what can best be described as audience identification with the person of hero or heroine The primary task of theater-audience leadership is thus to provide for the members of the audience some person or persons with whom they can identify themselves not only for the moment but throughout the performance

Lecture Audiences.—The lecture-audience situation is a more strictly limited one than is that of the theater It may be of the order of the church sermon already referred to, or it may be far less institutionalized But it is normally one in which a number of people have come together for the purpose of listening to a designated person speak upon some announced subject The members of a lecture audience tend, therefore, to be selected and thus prepared to submit to leadership of a specific type There is, however, a vast difference between a lecture audience that is composed of individuals who have paid their money to hear a popular speaker on some such subject as "Mankind at the Crossroads"; an audience that has assembled to hear what a political candidate has to say for himself, and an audience

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and the seaboard immigrants have been trained to accept less sugar-coated and more realistic action

* For a description and analysis of the dramatic techniques that have been used historically, see *The theater, three thousand years of drama, acting and stagecraft* (S Cheney, 1929)

† See "External conditioning factors in public behavior" (J. W. Armstrong and T D. Eliot, 1927).

that comprises a class in the history of philosophy. In all three, the person of the leader is at the outset designated; and the leadership range is limited to the extent that the announced topic, the conditions of admission, etc., have led to a selection of the audience members In all other regards, however, the three subtypes of the lecture audience, as illustrated above, are quite dissimilar

The Popular-lecture Audience. The popular lecturer who speaks on some topic of general interest is supposed to offer something of cultural or educational value to the audience. This formal purpose of the meeting is, however, unlikely to tell the whole story; for the lecturer who wants a return engagement must do far more toward entertaining than informing his audience. His skill as a dramatist is of at least equal importance with his ability as an interpreter of social forces, a political analyst, or a philosopher.

The Conversion Audience.—In some contrast to the popular-lecture audience is that which has assembled to hear a would-be political, economic, or social reformer expound the virtues of his special doctrines or his personal worth. The leader of such an audience must convert as well as entertain; and unless the audience has been packed with members who already accept his leadership, a stratagem that is frequently used for purposes of outside publicity, his leadership over it must be forcibly maintained. The ultimate aim of the leader of situations of this sort is so to convert the audience members that they themselves become conversion leaders in subsequent situations. If the audience leader has "sold" them his point of view, the members of that audience may later sell it in turn to their friends This, the so-called word-of-mouth advertising, is the goal of every conversion-audience leader and, as we shall see, of every propagandist. If his audience is willing to believe, the political aspirant need, of course, only avoid saying or doing anything that will antagonize it. A few jokes, a few harmless platitudes, some not-too-obvious compliments, and an air of warm friendship (or in some instances of impeccable dignity and authoritativeness) will then be adequate. But if he or what he stands for is unpopular, he must resort to demagogic tricks to be effective; argument will be of little avail. If he is a candidate up for reelection, he must present his audience with a cosmic drama in which he is the heroine, representing all that the audience considers desirable, and his opponent is the villain, representing all that the audience fears or considers repugnant, and in which the audience itself is the noble hero whose actions will save the heroine from the villain and itself from disaster. If he is a candidate campaigning for election or some other mode of new support, he must assume the role of savior,

casting himself into the role of hero and his audience into that of heroine.*

The Educational Audience.—Distinct from both the foregoing is that lecture-audience situation which is typical of the classroom. Here membership is to a considerable extent forced—attendance is necessary for the attainment of some distant goal The person of the lecturer in this situation is not determined by the audience members, and in many cases he need not be entertaining or even interesting. Not perhaps without reason it has long been assumed that the acquisition of knowledge is at best a laborious process. With much less justification it has been also assumed that the average college or university student is sufficiently motivated to make the effort to acquire the knowledge to which he is exposed. Because these assumptions have long been basic to our educational program, there is a tendency to associate effective pedagogy with pedantism As a consequence, classroom leadership is often little more than nominal The bird chirping on the ledge outside the classroom window may have more effect upon the audience than does the lecturer.

The classroom lecturer generally secures his position on the basis of qualifications that have little to do with his ability to dominate student audiences. His status as a scholar is usually deemed more important than his skill at expressing what he knows or believes in a convincing and stimulating manner For those students who have a sincere interest in a subject, accuracy of viewpoint and of presentation is of primary importance; but for other students, establishment of interest is the first pedagogical problem.† Thus far, however, con-

* Whatever its historic antecedents, the modern trial by jury has degenerated into a sort of competition between two conversion-audience leaders The jury is the audience, and the law and the judge provide the restraints within which action takes place, but the outcome is often more likely to reflect the respective dramatizing abilities of the prosecuting and the defending attorneys than to reflect the weight of factual evidence.

† The importance of the lecturer as a stimulator of student interest is demonstrable Some years ago it was reported that the best school grades tend to be received by those in the front center of each classroom (C. R. Griffith, 1921), and, if given a choice of seats, students prefer this particular classroom area (P R. Farnsworth, 1933). Although not all the later studies agree as to what is the region of best grades (F. N. Jones and J. B. Cooper, 1938), sufficient evidence has been gathered to indicate that most classrooms have regions where consistently higher than average grades obtain (M M. Magoon, 1932; and S. W Calhoon, 1934) Teachers' observations (M M. Magoon, 1932), students' reports, and data on abnormally arranged classrooms (P R Farnsworth, 1933) show that the optimum position in a classroom tends to be that area toward which the lecturer most often devotes his attentions

vention has prevented any concerted facing of this fact; and many professional educators are inclined to think of teaching in terms of stereotyped teaching methods rather than in terms of audience leadership. The familiar pedagogical excuse for ineffectiveness—that education is an appeal, not to the emotions, as are the propagandistic efforts of the forceful publicist, but to reason—runs hard afoul the fact that man is rarely a "rational" animal, whether he be a student in the classroom or a voter at a political rally.

Audience Size and the Hypothetical Listener.—The members of an audience are individual human beings, and up to a point each member reacts to the audience leader according to his particular personality. To the extent that the personalities of the members of the audience vary, the responses that the leader secures will be varied. It is his object, therefore, so to conduct himself that he will amuse, please, convert, or inform as many as possible of his audience members.

In any audience situation the leader—actor or lecturer—addresses a hypothetical listener. This member of the audience is not the average member; *i.e.*, his personality is not the average of the personality attributes of all the audience members. The average responsiveness of an audience may remain constant as its number increases; for example, the addition of a person who is incapable of understanding the words to which the average member responds will be offset by the addition of another who can understand more complex words than can the average. But what the leader endeavors to provide is an appeal that will be effective for all the members, not for a nonexistent average member. As audience members increase, the words, gestures, themes, ideas, etc., that will be effective with all, or nearly all of them, become fewer and simpler. Thus, the hypothetical listener toward whom the audience leader directs his efforts becomes, in effect, duller, more stupid, more prejudiced, and less reasonable as the audience increases in size.

With all other factors remaining constant, change in audience size may therefore completely change the problem of audience leadership. The leadership technique that is effective for an audience of ten will not often work when the audience is increased to one hundred; lecturing satisfactorily to an informal group of ten clubwomen is a quite different problem from lecturing effectively to one hundred of the same type of clubwomen. The lecture or speech that will hold the attention of a large audience may seem quite stupid to a small one, the play that is successful in the little theater may be a failure in a large house on Broadway merely because the audience is larger.

Every professional lecturer must speak in terms of a hypothetical listener, and almost the only things that he can be confident will have a positive appeal to the hypothetical listener in an audience of five hundred people are "mother love" and similar stereotypes. Thus, because his hypothetical listener becomes intellectually dwarfed as the audience increases in size, the politician who speaks intelligently and conservatively to a small group may become a blatant demagogue when he faces a large auditorium

Interaction of Leader and Audience.—If he is to be effective, the audience leader must adjust himself to the audience in the effort to get it to adjust to him. The fact that a play or lecture may be written and practiced before the audience situation arises does not remove the audience from the category of an interactional situation Some interaction always takes place between even the relatively passive audience and its leader To be successful in actually acting out the play or in delivering the speech, the performer must adjust himself to the behavior of the particular audience * Popular lecturers commonly avoid in part the difficulties of predicting audience reaction by having no set speech. They can then be more responsive to the behavior of the audience

Possibly the most vital single requisite for effective audience leadership is the ability to perceive audience "mood" or "temper" A skilled audience leader is remarkably responsive, not only to the character of the specific audience, but to the dynamic mood changes of that audience. In the theater, applause is a conventional method by which the audience communicates with the players From the frequency, duration, and intensity of applause an actor may judge the reaction of his audience and so vary his performance. In the course of their travels, the troupers of a generation ago acquired an uncanny skill at reading the "mind" of an audience. Elements other than applause—such as coughing, whispering, rustling of programs, etc —undoubtedly entered into this communication between audience and players Since the actor can see little beyond the foot-

* The function of the motion-picture preview is, of course, to obtain advance information concerning the behavior of subsequent audiences The action must be so timed that nothing of importance will occur during bursts of applause or laughter. Although stage actors can vary their behavior to fit each audience, motion-picture actors must time their behavior once for all. From data reported in *A statistical study of crowd laughter* (F. E Lange, 1923), it would appear that the duration and periods of applause and laughter are remarkably constant A later study, however, found the periods much less constant but discovered that "the number of laughs per performance correlated plus .90 with the number of people attending" (J Morrison, 1940)

lights, he is dependent upon sound for his knowledge of audience reaction. The lecturer, however, can ordinarily see as well as hear the members of his audience. However subtle, the process of audience-leader-audience communication is undoubtedly a matter of leader response to the gestures and sounds made by members of the audience. Unquestionably, too, the actor or lecturer who follows a predetermined course and is not responsive to these communications will tend to be less effective than the one who is guided by the audience he leads

Audience Interstimulation.—Aside from shifts in body position and changes in facial expression, the typical audience is normally passive; most of the time the members react covertly rather than overtly. Under normal conditions, therefore, there is little interaction among the members of an audience; the interaction is mainly between the audience and the person on the platform or the people on the stage An unusually loud handclap, however, may shift attention from the stage to a member of the audience. For the moment, that member is leader of the situation. Should others take up his applause, the audience members will be interacting with one another; and a process of interactional amplification will occur. This process is the basis for the practice of planting paid handclappers in an audience to stimulate enthusiasm for a doubtful play and to start applause at the proper moments.* The effectiveness of this process of interactional amplification will be apparent when we come to analyze behavior in abnormal situations.

Audience leaders frequently depend to a large extent upon audience interstimulation for their leadership effects. If they can get the audience to laugh at one statement and to applaud another, they may effect a complete reversal of audience mood. It is in the attempt to make an audience less critical and more receptive that speakers commonly start their speeches with a joke and follow this up with some reference to God and country or to the glorious future of the local community. If the members laugh at the first and applaud the second, the speaker has not only caught their interest but has prepared them to interact more readily with one another in the future.

In the old-time melodrama, music-hall, and vaudeville days it was customary for the audience to take a considerably active part. The villain was hissed; the hero was warned of impending danger; the singer was often accompanied by the audience; and the profes-

* Even the great Caruso almost invariably had hireling handclappers scattered throughout his audiences They not only started the applause at the times Caruso thought most appropriate but aborted applause that broke out at inappropriate times.

sionally amateur comedian was bombarded with whatever the members of the audience had brought along for the occasion. Their actions contributed to the leadership on the stage and affected other audience members. Audience participation in leadership probably made up in considerable measure for the crudities or inadequacy of the play or skit

To the extent that members of an audience stimulate one another, the situation moves away from that of the audience type. As long as the predetermined leader can guide audience action, the situation is essentially that of the audience type Should the audience get out of control—*i e*, should some member or members secure leadership more tenacious than that of the actor or lecturer—it becomes a mob

Density.—From the foregoing it can be seen that audience behavior involves another and hitherto unmentioned factor—density It is a common observation on the part of audience leaders, both actors and lecturers, that a sparsely filled auditorium makes a "cold" house All else being equal, a small theater in which every seat is filled ensures a much more responsive audience than does a large one in which the same number of people are scattered about That the members of the former may be physically uncomfortable does not detract from the fact that they will be more responsive Evangelists have learned the trick of condensing a sparse audience If the tent or tabernacle is too large for the audience, the evangelist starts with the plea "Come down front where we can get acquainted, Brothers and Sisters!"

The denser an audience, the more responsive it is and therefore the more easily it is swung toward the mob. Although this fact has been variously explained, the reason for it would seem to be that audience action is a matter of interaction among audience members, the denser the audience, the more its members can interact with one another on the basis of short-range stimuli At the outset, interaction of audience members involves the substitution of some audience member or members for the appointed audience leader. Some individual must start the applause, laughter, or whatever it is that sweeps the audience. He will be one who is more responsive than are his fellows to the stage or platform leadership His audible reaction stimulates others, whose responses in turn stimulate still others.

The fact that a man in a sparse audience can be singled out and made conspicuous is an inhibiting factor to his making an overt response to the lecturer or actor He is therefore less likely to rise to leadership than he would be were he closely surrounded by other

people. And even though he should forget himself and applaud, others, also easily made conspicuous in a sparse audience, are not so likely to follow his lead as they otherwise would be. Moreover, many interactions of audience members are built up in the first instance on the basis of stimuli that can be effective only at short distances The slight gasp, the chuckle, or the nod of approval that might stimulate a person in the next seat and thence another, and so on through the audience, cannot be effective if no one is sitting in that seat.

CHAPTER XX

DISTANT LEADERSHIP SITUATIONS

In a primitive society almost all interactional situations fall into one or another of the types and subtypes discussed in the preceding two chapters. Primitive people are by definition preliterate and are therefore dependent upon gesture and speech for person-to-person communication The collective behavior of the primitive occurs in situations of direct contact

Among any literate people, however, and especially in the modern world, the individual often interacts with people at a distance through the medium of the written word, the picture, the telegraph, the telephone, the radio, and the motion picture. The role of such communications in providing symbolic models and thereby contributing to the personality development of the individual has already been discussed at length We turn now to a consideration of the ways in which two or more human beings may interact on the basis of these distant-contact communications. The situations in which such interactions occur are termed distant leadership situations in view of the fact that the leader of the situation is spatially removed from the members, who react not to his person but to some specific and limited aspect of his behavior, *e g*, his voice or his writing

The Nature of Publics.—The term "public" is commonly used to distinguish the membership of a distant-contact situation from that of a direct-contact situation Thus the radio comedian is said to have his public, whereas the stage comedian is said to address an audience. This terminological distinction reflects the fact that there are a number of significant differences between distant-contact and direct-contact situations.

In the first place, the membership of a public is ordinarily very much larger than is that of any of the direct-contact situations The latter are usually composed of a few people; and even the very largest—such as spectacles, prize fights, baseball games, and football games—seldom involve more than a hundred thousand The smaller publics, on the other hand, include thousands of people; and the larger ones involve millions. This difference in relative size means that the

leaders of publics are much more restricted than are those of direct-contact situations, in the same way as, but to a greater degree than, the leader of a large audience is more restricted than is the leader of a small one.

Moreover, the exact size and character of a public is always indeterminate. It is possible to count the members of a congenial group, the members of an audience, etc. But radio advertisers, newspaper editors, politicians, and other leaders of publics can only guess at the numbers and kinds of people who are responding to their leadership.*

Furthermore, the reactions of the members of a public to the leader of it are also indeterminate. When we tell a joke to a group of friends, their responses are immediate and evident; and we can be guided by them. The response of a radio comedian's public to his jokes may be immediate, but they are not evident to him; and the response of an author's public is neither immediate nor evident.† As a result, radio comedian and author, like all leaders of publics, must proceed from point to point on the basis of past experience in the hope that their efforts are achieving the desired results. Because the membership of a public is large but of indeterminate size and character and its

* It is known that between 27 and 28 million American families possess radios But at what times they use their sets, what stations they dial, and how many in each family listen in cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy.

In studying the panic effects that followed the broadcasting of Orson Welles's *The invasion from Mars*, several polling services who were asked to cooperate with the Office of Radio Research disagreed violently, their estimates of the number of listeners to this broadcast ranging from 4 to 12 million A compromise figure of 6 million was finally agreed upon as "conservative" (H. Cantril, H. Gaudet, and H. Herzog, 1940).

For a discussion of the current methods of measuring the radio public, see "Radio listening and socio-economic status" (K. H. Baker, 1937); *How radio measures its audience* (F. Stanton, 1940), "The use of mail questionnaires to ascertain the relative popularity of network stations in family listening surveys" (P F Lazarsfeld, 1940c); *How radio measures its audience: four discussions by research authorities* (C B S., 1941*a*); and *Roper counts customers: a study of consumer response to 40 CBS sponsored programs* (C B.S., 1941*b*).

† The radio comedian can judge the success of today's jokes only by tomorrow's fan mail and next week's Crossley rating of his program; the author can judge the effect of what he writes today only by his royalty statement six months or a year hence, and the politician often has to wait until he is up for reelection before he can gauge the total effect of the many things he has done and said during his term in office upon the varied people who form his constituency. Because of the time lag and of the multiplicity of factors other than the leader's behavior that may enter into the determining of the behavior of publics, the leader of a public may easily wander far afield. For a description and discussion of public-opinion polls as an attempt to circumvent this difficulty, see Appendix note 67.

responses to leadership are indeterminate and may be delayed, the leadership of publics is always more difficult and is usually more ineffective than is that of direct-contact situations.

Finally, little if any interaction occurs among the members of a public Each member reacts to the leadership, and he may be affected by his awareness that he is a member of a public which supposedly has a common purpose. But his reaction is not affected by and does not affect the behavior of the other members. Laughter and applause cannot, therefore, "sweep" the public The members of a public may subsequently interact with one another on the basis of public leadership; but they will then do so as members of various direct-contact situations—as is the case, for example, when people discuss a radio program or a newspaper editorial. The leadership of a public is not, therefore, facilitated—as it usually is in congenial and audience situations—by member interstimulation

Multiplicity of Publics.—Political writers frequently describe entire populations as "publics," *e g.*, the American public; and some have gone so far as to attempt to describe the "public mind" In point of fact, however, publics are many and transitory. All the people who read a newspaper item, a magazine article, or a book, constitute for the writer thereof his public. All the members of such a public do not, however, react at the same time. People come into and go out of such a public throughout the life of the printed communication—a day or so for the newspaper item, perhaps many years for the book. During the course of a single day, a given individual may enter and leave hundreds of different publics. as he reads the editorial page of his morning paper, a man is briefly responding to the leadership of the editor; but he promptly passes on to the sports page, the comic section, the world news, etc., sampling the leadership offerings of the many writers who have contributed to the making of the newspaper. And the newspaper is, of course, but one of the many mediums through which he joins publics. He listens to the radio from time to time; he reads books, magazines, etc.

At any given moment the members of a society will be organized into countless situations of which only a small proportion will be distant-contact in character. Of the latter, there will at that moment be countless specific, however temporary, publics. It has sometimes been estimated that as many as a third of the American people have simultaneously listened to a radio broadcast of great national importance. But such vast aggregations of people under a single leadership are rare and, of course, exceedingly temporary In the main, even governmental leadership must operate through a vast number of

varied specific situations. The American public may be a suggestive figure of speech. It is not, however, a sociopsychological reality.

The Functions of Publics.—The appearance of publics is historically related to the development of distant-contact means of communication. Every new invention in the field of communications—radio, for example—has either modified other forms of public interaction or has made possible the growth of new types of publics. Functionally, publics seem to serve as supplements to or substitutes for the types of interactional situations discussed in the two preceding chapters; they exhibit in modified character the attributes of these two types Thus a radio public differs in degree rather than in kind from that direct-contact audience which is its prototype. We shall here examine these differences in degree mainly in terms of the differences in leadership

MONARCHIAL LEADERSHIP

As agencies of social control, government and religion are still to a slight degree institutional. At times the relation of king to subjects and the relation of priest to flock have been so thoroughly institutional that often a century or more has passed with little or no change in the pattern of their interactions At such times the antecedents and the interactional processes involved in the distant-contact situations were so much like those of the direct-contact situations that it is unnecessary to describe these aspects of distant-contact institutional situations here. We usually speak of distant-contact leadership under these conditions as monarchial.

Monarchial leadership can, perhaps, be most clearly conceived of as distant and impersonal leadership over the personal leaders of certain face-to-face institutional situations. In the medieval church, the pope was the designated leader of his court; the court provided leadership of the priests; the priests in turn were the leaders of direct-contact situations of a religious order. For over one thousand years the emperors of China were the nominal leaders of their courts; the courts provided leadership for the governmental bureaus; the bureaus issued orders to governmental representatives in the various provinces; and these in turn directed the local magistrates in their direct relations with the emperor's subjects.

We frequently assume that, under the monarchial form of government and under the institutional religion of the Middle Ages, the king and pope decreed and their subjects obeyed. In the vast majority of instances nothing could be farther from the truth. The spheres of both government and religion were institutionally limited. The king and the pope were leaders only in the sense that the patriarch

of the old family was a leader in the institutional situations of the family This limited character of monarchial leadership is revealed by the fact that historically expansion of both religious and governmental functions was slow and was secured only as other institutions disintegrated

REGIMENTAL LEADERSHIP

Monarchial leadership is apparently too much restricted and too unenterprising to provide a people with guidance during any severe crisis, such as war. In any event, we find a somewhat different form of leadership appearing in military and naval organization, regardless of the character of the government of which these organizations are a part In an army or navy, the personnel is more or less effectively trained to automatic obedience to the commands issued by superior officers, who are themselves trained to putting into effect programs of action dictated by their superiors. The entire organization is at least semi-institutional in that it operates on the basis of strong traditions and has something of its own sets of values, concepts of morality, etc The virtue of this form of organization is that it permits one or a small number of individuals to work out a solution to a problem of collective adjustment and to put this solution into effect with considerable assurance that each individual in the organization will do his prescribed part It places responsibility for individual initiative in designated and trained leaders and thus makes possible, in theory at least, effective adaptation to changing circumstances Such leadership is regimental;* it secures its response on the basis of discipline

In the modern world regimental leadership has been extended beyond the scope of military and naval activities School children are often regimented, through fire drill, in an attempt to prevent the panic behavior that would otherwise appear should they be caught in a fire in a school building Workers are sometimes disciplined into unfailing obedience to the commands of their immediate superiors so that the whole business organization will be highly responsive to the leadership of the executive office. Competition among business organizations makes dynamic leadership necessary for survival, and the modern business leader is in a position not unlike that of the commanding officer of a military force He must maneuver his organization in anticipation of the economic strategy of his competi-

* The leadership of the Roman Church has at times tended toward the regimental rather than the monarchial This was particularly true of certain of its orders, *e g* , the Jesuits.

tors. Whenever the individual efforts of large numbers of people must be coordinated in the solution of a collective problem, regimental leadership is indicated *

But every regimental system tends in time to become so ingrown and so rigid that the leaders as well as the "privates" come to lack initiative. They then attempt to solve new problems with old formulas. Military organizations are, with few exceptions, notoriously conservative. In World War I, for example, the French and British staffs relied upon military formations and stratagems that had developed around the bolt-action rifle and light artillery. Some two years, perhaps two million unnecessary casualties, and a revolution in the general staffs were necessary before an adaptation to the German machine-gun technique was made. That adaptation, trench or static warfare, became so much imbedded in the culture of the French and British armies that they relied upon it, more than twenty years later, in defense against German tanks and dive bombers, with consequences that have already become history. This tendency for regimental leadership to become unenterprising has appeared in some business organizations, notably the railroads. The American railroads delayed nearly twenty years before making any significant adaptation (streamliners, fast freights, etc) to the rise of truck and airplane competition.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

During periods of social change, when institutional forms of political and religious organization are breaking down, individuals rise to the status of leaders more as a consequence of their own efforts than as a result of inheritance or promotion. Social disorders, as we have frequently observed, provide an opportunity for the individual with ingenuity and a domineering personality to take leader status from the institutional personnel and to wield a leadership that is more than nominal. Thus it was the decline of the medieval church

* Lewin and his colleagues have for some years been studying the effects of different "social atmospheres"—of working under different sorts of leadership In their experiments boys' clubs have been directed by leaders who were either regimental, democratic, or anarchistic in their methods of supervision. It was found that boys of the well-regimented clubs were more "frustrated" than were those more democratically governed. Lewin's subjects were American children, reared in a democratic culture. If the experiments had been run on children accustomed to regimentation, the data might have been quite different. The acceptance of regimental leadership would presumably have been "second nature" to German children, so that much less frustration would have arisen (K Lewin and R Lippitt, 1938; K. Lewin, R. Lippitt, and R. K. White, 1939; and R. Lippitt, 1939 and 1940)

that made possible the rise to religious leadership of such "upstarts" as Luther and Calvin. It was the disintegration of monarchial governments that made possible the emergence of popular or democratic leaders during the last two centuries Likewise, it has been the failure of certain democratic governments that has made possible the rise of dictatorial leaders

For the period following the breakdown of an institutional system and until a new institutional pattern is crystallized, leadership is of a quasi-institutional nature This leadership secures its position and makes its appeal on the basis of the old institutional factors; but the person of the leader is determined to a great extent by competition, and his domination is limited almost solely by the threat of revolt against his person Our efforts to establish a democratic form of government are essentially efforts to make quasi-institutional governmental leadership permanent and systematic We have attempted to limit the forms of competition for leadership and to make revolt against undesired leadership a matter of balloting rather than bloodshed In a very real sense, then, the democratic plan of government is one in which quasi-institutional distant leadership is made quickly responsive to the members of a "governmental public."

The democratic leader is dependent upon the periodically expressed willingness of the majority of those whom he leads to accept his leadership It has been historically assumed that his leadership will of necessity follow the course that is most advantageous to the majority of his followers (68) Apparently unanticipated by the theorists was the fact that competition for leadership under these conditions frequently is based upon conversional appeals rather than on actual abilities in constructive leadership

PROPAGANDA AND CENSORSHIP AS LEADERSHIP TECHNIQUES

Experience has shown that, wherever the personnel of distant leadership is determined by some form or other and to some degree or other of the democratic process, a considerable part of leadership energies will be directed toward maintaining status against the competitive strivings of aspirants for the position. These efforts and the efforts of those who are struggling for recognition take the form of propaganda (69). Political parties, competing business interests, and minorities within such groups as unions, corporations, associations, etc , all resort to some extent to propaganda in the effort to secure or to retain leadership Furthermore, those in a position of leadership frequently endeavor to stalemate the propaganda of aspirants for their position by what is termed censorship.

The Techniques of Propaganda.—The effort of anyone to convert people to the acceptance of his leadership or the attempt of anyone to "put across" the ideas and practices he represents is in a broad sense propaganda. The thing he represents may be a special political view, a new religious faith; the idea that one commercial product is more desirable than another; the notion that a specific painting, book, or play is worth seeing or reading; or the objectively verifiable but commonly disbelieved idea that patent medicines offer little of profit to any but the maker. When ideas are imparted through schoolroom channels, we term the process pedagogy. Pedagogical techniques may or may not be essentially those of propaganda; and, as in the latter, the ideas imparted may or may not be in accord with scientific belief.

The techniques of propaganda as used in distant leadership situations differ from the techniques of conversion-audience leadership only to the extent that the medium of communication is different. The newspaper, book, or radio public is larger than is the lecture audience; and the symbols used must be simpler (in accordance with the principle of the hypothetical listener). Since the members of a public are spatially separated, there is, at the outset, little possibility of member interaction. And the communication value of gestures is, of course, lost in distant-contact communications; the desired reaction must be secured by words, printed or spoken, supplemented only by graphic symbols.

One advantage that the distant-contact propagandist has over the conversion-audience leader is that his distance and the impersonal nature of his medium permit him to some extent to disguise any personal interest that he may have in the effects of his leadership. This factor of personal interest has frequently been made the basis for a theoretical distinction between propaganda and advertising. It has been argued that the advertiser, a commercial propagandist, always reveals his personal interest and that the members of his public therefore discount everything he says. This fact, the argument runs, makes his efforts quite unlike those of the political, religious, or social propagandist, who commonly disarms his public by pretending a personal disinterest. Dialectical hairsplitting of this sort can have little more than theoretical significance. Advertising may be a special form; but certainly the advertiser's implicit admission that he has a selfish interest in the effects of his efforts does not remove those efforts from the category of propaganda.* It is doubtful whether the average

* Pseudo economists have long claimed that the function fulfilled by commercial advertising is that of educating the buying public to the value of newly developed products. It is of course true that advertising is occasionally a means

man is any more sophisticated in regard to commercial advertisements than he is concerning any other minority-group pressure He responds to them, if at all, quite indiscriminately

As with any form of audience leadership, there are techniques of propaganda only in the sense that there are techniques of painting or of novel writing. Propaganda, like conversation, is an art; and, although certain general principles may be discerned (70), their application is largely a matter of individual ingenuity It is as futile, therefore, to attempt a description of *the* successful propaganda methods as it would be to describe how Rembrandt got his effects and then to put these forth as the rules for good painting *

His methods may defy complete analysis, but the principles which the propagandist employs are few and simple. He attempts to erect a supercosmic drama in which his person or the idea he represents becomes stereotyped as a kind of hero or, in some instances, as a heroine. The first step in this direction consists in providing his public, through newsprint and other distant-contact mediums, items that make his person fit one of the more or less conventional personality stereotypes.† It makes little difference whether his "person" is a political party, a society for the prevention or preservation of something or other, a business corporation, a package of cigarettes, an idea or philosophic system, or an actual human being What he must do is to give himself or whatever his leadership stands for a personality,

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of acquainting the public with some new technological development and thus of encouraging its application to man's living But as any disinterested student must realize, the major part of advertising is competitive, *i e* , a struggle between industries for customers or a struggle between two or more producers or distributors of a similar commodity Quite unlike the usual elaborate rationalizations is the following analysis by an advertising man· *Our master's voice advertising* (J Rorty, 1934) See also the article on advertising by L S Lyon (*Encycl Soc. Sci* , **1**, 469–475).

* To know how an effect is achieved does not necessarily assure ability to secure that effect Some idea of the complexities of the art of propaganda can be gained from the following *Crystallizing public opinion* (E L Bernays, 1934), "The poisoned springs of world news" (G. Seldes, 1934), "The technic of mob rule" (G Boas, 1935); "The screen enters politics" (R S Ames, 1935), "Huey Long and his background" (H Basso, 1935); and *The politician* (J H. Wallis, 1935) But by far the best study of the art of demagogic leadership is *Mein Kampf* (A Hitler, 1925)

† For an excellent summary of the history and development of the technique of directing the formation of stereotypes, see "Publicity" by E Gruening (*Encycl Soc. Sci* , **12**, 698–701) Both of the following books on the subject are written by recognized masters in the art of personalizing corporations and of giving good names to men who need and can pay for them *Ballyhoo the voice of the press* (S Bent, 1927) and *Propaganda* (E. L Bernays 1928)

one that in the minds of his public can be fitted to the role of hero or heroine in the drama that he is fashioning.

At the same time and in the same manner, he must dramatize the need for his leadership by casting his opponent, either an actual or a potential leader, in the role of villain. Again, it makes little difference if this opponent is a political party, a competitive business organization (in this instance the effect is usually secured by inference only), a traditional superstition, a new scientific discovery, a minority group, or even the weather. His task is to blame some real or synthetic personality with the troubles, real or fictitious, of those whom he would lead (71).

It is necessary only to add that the propagandist's drama must have as simple conflict elements, as crystal clear and absolute a dichotomy between hero and villain, and as obvious a climax, as has a children's fairy tale. When the drama is hammered in with such dependence upon repetition and artificial suspense as is used in the children's story, only convention or the counter appeal of opposition leadership will prevent the propagandist's public from responding in accordance with the role in which it has been cast.

Propagandists often throw in two or three villains for good measure, as was the case when Hitler so characterized the Socialists, the Communists, and the Versailles Treaty as well as the Jews during his rise to power in Germany. The stereotyped elements upon which he relied in casting the German people as the heroine for his political drama are exceptionally clear. He flattered them with the idea that they were pure of heart and mind, possessed of all the ancient Germanic virtues, and destined to take their rightful place in the domestic scheme of things, provided only that they would marry the hero, Hitler, who would save them from the composite villain. If subsequent events did not unfold quite according to the romantic tradition, it need only be said that they never do—neither political nor medicinal panaceas live up to their promises.

Effectiveness of Propaganda.—Propagandists attempt to convert a relatively few individuals, who in turn are to convert others by word of mouth. These converts in a sense act as the agents of the propagandist. The rumor process may also contribute to his effectiveness, since what he says may become the basis for rumors. Possibly it is in congenial situations, rather than in those of any other type, that most actual conversions take place No doubt the propagandist directly influences only those individuals in his public who for reasons growing out of their life experiences are already able to believe Certainly the direct effects of propaganda can be easily exaggerated.

Leaders, political or otherwise, are a reflection of their milieu; in order to be successful, the propagandist must offer something that the people feel they need. If they are reasonably content with what they have, propaganda will not be very effective. It is therefore to the social conditions that make people susceptible to conversion rather than to propaganda itself, that we must first look for an explanation of political or other leadership that has used propaganda to secure leadership status.

Censorship.*—Censorship operates to prevent opposition propaganda by control of the press and of other distant-contact mediums. The procedure is analogous to the efforts of a conversional lecturer to assure the attendance of everyone at his lecture and a lack of attendance at all other concomitant lectures. Censorship can be utilized only by those who are already in a position of leadership. Methods of control may take such forms as the buying up of an opposition press, the refusing of advertising to those papers which do not cooperate, or governmental dictation to all news organs and news sources. The use by economic and religious organizations of governmental agencies for censorship purposes is a commonplace and takes such forms as suppression of books and plays,† suppression of unfavorable reports, etc.

Counterpropaganda.—The term "counterpropaganda" came into use during World War I to indicate the use of propaganda to checkmate the propaganda efforts of another interest group. Under some circumstances it is more effective and expedient for established leader-

* Almost as much confusion surrounds the use of the term "censorship" as surrounds that of "propaganda" (see Appendix note 69). To define "censorship" as any interference with lines of communication would make practically every parent, teacher, and in fact anyone directly or indirectly concerned with the processes of socialization, a censor, since these people are constantly putting restraints upon communication in the effort to prevent antisocialization. To define "censorship" as a restraint upon the communication of facts or of "rational appeals" is to give the term only subjective application. For references on moralistic censorship see *Censorship and the public library* (G. F. Bowerman, 1931), *Who's obscene?* (M. W. Dennett, 1930), *Censored: the private life of the movie* (M. L. Ernst and P. Lorentz, 1930), *A publisher speaking* (G. C. Faber, 1934); *Burned books* (C. R. Gillett, 1932), *The censor, the drama and the film*, 1900–1934 (D. Knowles, 1934), and *Can these things be!* (G. Seldes, 1931).

For material on political censorship see the article "Censorship" by H. D. Lasswell (*Encycl. Soc. Sci.*, **3**, 290–294) and the references in Appendix note 69.

† Almost anything that might be communicated has at some time or other been subjected to censorship in some place or other. In the field of literature, we might cite such books as Homer's *Odyssey*, Shakespeare's *Richard the Second*, and Doyle's *Sherlock Holmes*. Even *Alice in Wonderland* was once banned by the governor of a Chinese province on the ground that, because it makes animals talk, the book puts them on a par with human beings.

ship than is direct censorship. For obvious reasons the democratic political leader is dependent more upon counterpropaganda than upon censorship to keep himself in power. Much advertising is counterpropaganda that is forced upon a business interest by the propaganda efforts of a competitor. In brief, counterpropaganda arises whenever two propagandist agencies work at cross purposes, one endeavoring to secure leadership by conversion and action or by usurping the *status quo*, the other endeavoring to maintain his leadership in the *status quo* or by conversion to other forms of action.

During the early years of World War I the British endeavored to secure American participation on the side of the Entente. Toward this end they flooded the United States with faked news stories that cast Germany in the role of villain and the Entente in the role of hero In the attempt to offset this propaganda and to keep the United States neutral, Germany carried out a campaign of counterpropaganda. This latter was strikingly unsuccessful, primarily because the Entente possessed the most adequate channels of propaganda and because the Germans appeared to have great difficulty in understanding American ways of viewing events.

Following World War I, so much was made of the role of propaganda in bringing about our participation that "propaganda" became for us a stereotyped villain.* Propaganda became, in fact, very much the root of all evil. As a consequence, the British refrained, after the outbreak of World War II, from making any appeals to us that could be easily recognized and labeled as propaganda. That they did their utmost, nevertheless, to convert us to the view that our salvation as a nation lay in theirs goes without saying

DICTATORIAL LEADERSHIP

To the extent that a political leader secures or retains his position of leadership by the use of force, he is a dictator. When the aspirant for political leadership resorts to force in the effort to gain control of a government, he is transcending the established procedures for political advancement under the democratic process. When the elected leaders of a democracy resort to force in the endeavor to make their status permanent, they are exceeding the traditional limits of their office. The former attempt is, in a broad sense, a revolutionary movement; the latter is counterrevolutionary Even in the more

* The term "propaganda" does not everywhere possess the offensive meaning it has been given almost universally in America The Roman Catholic Church, for example, has its Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, which it considers as purely educational in character.

democratic societies, there will appear from time to time some resort to force in the endeavor to achieve or to retain the status of political leadership. The intimidation of voters by the hired ruffians of a political candidate is a commonplace example of the former. The use of the city police to assure a satisfactory vote for the mayor is an example of the latter practice.

In a monarchy leadership is determined by traditional factors, usually hereditary. In a true democracy the vote of the electorate determines which of the various aspirants shall rule for each succeeding term, and competition among aspirants is limited to conversional appeals But when the political elite has, in a very literal sense, battered its way to power, the result is for a time at least dictatorship No dictatorial clique can, of course, come to power simply because it resorts to forceful means Unless a significant proportion of the people are so wearied of the established system and its personnel that they can be won over by propaganda to the new movement, the force of the would-be leader will be resisted by the greater force of the established police, army, and navy. Dictatorship is, therefore, a symptom of social disintegration The conditions that make for the rise of dictators will later be considered as a form of sociopsychopathology.

Once a dictator has come to power, he endeavors to solidify his position by the manipulation of economic appeals and by rapid regimentation of the population. Presumably a true dictatorship would be control of a fully regimented people and would lead by slow degrees to the rigidity and automatic determination of the person of the leader which is characteristic of monarchial leadership Karl Marx and his followers, however, believed that dictatorship—at least the dictatorship of the proletariat—would be a temporary, transitional phase and that all government would eventually disappear The social psychologist can only say that so far history has been unkind to all those who have made categorical assumptions regarding government.

RANDOM IMPERSONAL LEADERSHIP

Some forms of distant-contact leadership are similar to that which arises under the mildly competitive conditions found in congenial situations. For some people, personal correspondence may serve as a partial substitute for membership in such situations. The correspondence between two friends constitutes a retarded give and take that is somewhat comparable to that which occurs during an informal conversation. Obviously, however, the art of letter writing is quite distinct from the art of conversation A second form of distant-contact

interaction that has its congenial elements is the telephone conversation, particularly that of the old party-line character. At one time the telephone was an important medium of recreation, especially for people in rural communities Housewives on a party line could "get together" for a chat, and at such times they interacted much as they did in face-to-face associations.

The Newspaper.—The random, mildly competitive form of leadership shifting that is characteristic of the congenial situation can also be seen in certain types of newspaper material. The local items in the old-time country newspaper served much the same function for those whom these items concerned as would oral rendition to the neighbors; to the readers these items served much the same function as would hearing of the incidents. The fact that Farmer Brown's cow had twin calves might be an item of conversational leadership for him, either in congenial situations or as disseminated through the local paper. He might get something of the same glow of pride from seeing his name in print and from visualizing the readers as they read the item as he would from the attention that his story would arouse should he tell it in person. Knowing this, editors made a point of working in as many local names in each issue as was possible. Something not unlike the rivalry in a congenial situation existed among those people who aspired to get their names in the paper.

In the modern metropolitan press there is nothing quite comparable to the local items in the old-time country press, although the difference is one of degree only. One of the few places where leadership shifts in a somewhat random fashion is the "Letters to the Editor" section, although here there is a tendency for certain people to be chronic contributors and for the vast majority of readers to contribute nothing. We may, however, say that the reader of an item of this order is reacting to leadership that arose on the mildly competitive basis that is characteristic of the congenial situation. Certainly there are many people who compete to get their names in the paper and some who will do almost anything to provide a story that is certain to secure space.*

Rather than providing an opportunity for reader leadership, the modern newspaper provides printed substitutes for the stories told by conversational leaders in congenial situations. A large proportion of

* Death notices have been occasionally inserted in the newspapers by perfectly live but rather hysterical "corpses"; and marriage notices have been similarly published when no marriage is even contemplated except by a would-be bride. When normal activities fail to "make the publication grade," abnormal procedures are undertaken by a surprisingly large number of people.

what we call news is really printed rumor. Most of us read news items for the same reasons that we listen to rumors—to be entertained —although of course we rationalize such reading by saying that we must keep posted on world events.* Aside from the stock-market quotations, the straight factual material that is contained in an edition of the average newspaper would be adequately recorded in an extremely small space. If it were so presented, however, there would be few readers Barren facts or outright fictions are therefore "written up," just as in the rumor process the grain of truth or suspicion is dressed up to make a good story. In a sense therefore newspapermen are professional rumor makers Among them, some have taken as their specialty political rumors; others, financial, local, national, or international rumors; and some few, scandal rumors These specialists tend to vie with one another for space in the paper, just as in face-to-face situations individuals may compete with one another for a chance to tell their stories.

FUGITIVE PATTERNS

In a society like our own, where instability is characteristic of many aspects of social life, there are numerous quick and violent shifts of behavior—fugitive patterns of action that come and go without apparent cause and in much the same manner as does the rumor story. The leadership responsible for the origin and spread of such patterns is as random and shifting as is that involved in rumor. These fugitive patterns are termed fads, booms, and crazes. Although the three terms are by no means mutually exclusive, the name "fad" has generally been given to the more trifling deviations from normal behavior, the term "boom," to vital and protracted ones; and the term "craze," to those which have an intermediate position and the outstanding characteristic of becoming for the moment a primary but superficial concern of the people who are involved.

* Students of journalism are inclined to apologize for the newspaper on the grounds that it is a great educational medium. Although this means of distant-contact communication is undoubtedly a factor in the personality development of the modern individual and a primary agency of propaganda, it functions for the reader more as a recreational than an educational medium See "Press" by D. M. Keezer (*Encycl. Soc Sci*, **12**, 325-343) and *News and the human interest story* (H M Hughes, 1939) Although even the most reputable newspapers contain a large portion of printed rumor, the personalized rumor reaches its purest written form in the various motion-picture magazines They contain little except highly dramatized stories about trivial (and often fictitious) events and characteristics of the personages in the motion-picture world. See "Inside story" (L McTaggart, 1933)

The Fad.—Hardly a week passes in contemporary America but that some new slang word, catch phrase, verbal inflection, minor modification of dress or mannerism, popular song, dance step, or game makes its appearance and wins popular favor. The spread of the latest popular song can be traced to some extent, and the influence of such mediums as the radio in speeding up its spread is quite evident. There is little possibility, however, of tracing the spread of slang words or dance steps; and the reason why one of the many songs that are plugged by bands should rise to favor while the rest never "catch" is a mystery that tin-pan alley* would give millions to solve. All we can possibly say is that of the countless new modes of behavior that are no doubt invented annually, some few are taken up by individuals here and there and are used as the basis for leadership in their congenial groupings. These then spread or fail to spread in the same way and for much the same reasons that a rumor does. Like a rumor, a fad must be appropriate to the time and place.

At all times the more ingenious members of our society are making bids for leadership either in their professional capacity as writers, actors, painters, etc., or in their capacity as private citizens. Within each professional group there is intense competition for professional leadership. Song writers drum out a hundred or more pieces annually; hundreds of novels are turned off the presses each year; thousands of artists paint countless pictures, while others mold a multitude of statues; playwrights, producers, and actors try out some dozens of new plays; and motion-picture producers grind out their usual schedule of comedies and melodramas. In these fields, essentially recreational, there are of course some recognized leaders—popular authors, song writers, artists, actors, etc.—who may be in rather steady demand. But the leadership of such people plays a relatively small part in the fad. The song that sweeps into wide if brief popularity is socially selected from the many offered; few people know the name of the composer. The best seller is frequently an author's first, and occasionally his last, book. The play that makes theater history may have been a producer's gamble; the actress who rises to sudden fame may do so in spite of and at the expense of another upon whom producers have lavished fantastic publicity; and the motion picture that catches the popular fancy may have been "just another picture" at the outset. In other words, leaders strive for leadership;

* The history of fads in popular music is given in *Tin pan alley: a chronicle of the American popular music racket* (I. Goldberg, 1930) and in Part II of *Radio research, 1941* (D. MacDonald, Jr., 1941).

but from all that they offer, a little is taken and the remainder is rejected or passively tolerated.

Occasionally it is possible to trace the unusual popularity of a book or a play to some accident that has given it an exceptional initial impulse or provided it with free advertising. Any one of these may be the "break" that publisher and theatrical producer are always hoping for At one time it was considered a seal of popularity for a book to be banned in Boston A war or other disaster will make a book related to the subject timely and may help to assure its success The absence of anything more important to talk and write about at the moment may mean that a new book or play is given unusual attention in the newspapers and acquires the status of a popular topic of conversation

In the main, however, there is as yet no adequate explanation for the fact that one of the many books published each year sells in the hundreds of thousands rather than in the thousands* or of the fact that one play becomes a national success whereas a hundred others come and go As popularity grows, some critics and experts will claim to know just why the book or play was successful. But it is evident that their deduction is an a posteriori one, since their knowledge is not put to use in the writing of best sellers or of box-office successes

The random character of leadership in fads is even more apparent in those fads—such as the slang phrase or the "wisecrack"—which are not subject to commercial exploitation In Hollywood and New York, our great entertainment centers, there are hundreds of men and women who devote their time to inventing gags for use by comedians. Of the many that are broadcast by radio and motion picture, some few are taken up and have their brief period of popularity.

Most fads have a short life, probably for the same reason that rumors quickly die out The fad pattern is taken over because it attracts attention to the user But the more it spreads, the less is its attention-invoking value At some point in its spread, a fad becomes so commonplace that it will be abandoned in favor of some new attention-getting device. Some words, games, dress items, and mechanical gadgets do, however, have sufficient intrinsic value that, although they are originally diffused throughout the society as fads, they subsequently become a part of the stable culture In the late twenties

* Berreman has found that initial advertising, particularly that which is directed toward the book dealers, increases the probability of a novel's selling up in the tens of thousands. But he found no explanation for the fact that, of the many books that become good sellers one or two will go on to become best sellers (J. Berreman, 1939)

the zipper was an exceedingly faddy device and was used primarily as an ornament. As a practical mechanism for closing things it has survived its faddy period. Many of the things that we today use and take for granted—the bicycle, the "juke" box, slacks, etc.—were at one time or another attention-getting fad items. Of those things which we today consider so extremely smart, clever, and up to the minute, a few will survive as utilitarian commonplaces; most, however, will be obsolete tomorrow.

The Boom.—The fad involves some trivial change in behavior that may ultimately become incorporated into the social heritage The boom, in contrast, is vital and self-liquidating. Like a fire, the boom consumes the substance necessary for its existence and so dies out automatically. Booms usually involve some aspect of economic behavior and generally occur during what the economist speaks of as the prosperity phase of the business cycle Booms in stocks, such as the one of 1927–1929, are perhaps the most characteristic; but almost any economic good or activity may be the basis for a boom. Land has been boomed from time to time and from place to place. Southern California lands were the basis for a boom in the 1880's and again in the 1920's; Florida real estate was boomed about 1923,* and from time to time most communities get excited about a new subdivision, a race-track project, a local oil-well development, or something of the sort. The gold rush to California in the middle of the last century and to Alaska in 1898 were booms that had vast social consequences Tulip bulbs were at one time the basis for a most extravagant boom in Holland.† A bulb exchange was established during the height of this peculiar boom, and bulbs sometimes sold for more than their weight in gold.

There is usually some little grain of truth or reason at the basis of the boom. This may be the discovery of *some* gold, a *slight* rise in land value, or the *hope* that some new venture will pay dividends. Spread by and through the rumor process, that grain of truth is soon swollen into a dramatic opportunity for easy and fabulous wealth; and more and more people are led to drop their normal economic activities to join in the new quest. Presumably those who first respond to the boom stories are the less stable and more suggestible members of a community, but constant repetition and external elaboration of the boom story bring about the interactional amplification that has previously been mentioned. Just as few individuals are capable of remaining calm and critical as members of an audience that is wildly enthusiastic,

* See *Boom in paradise* (T. H. Weigall, 1932).

† See *Memoirs of extraordinary popular delusions* (C. Mackay, 1850).

so few people can avoid being caught up in the boom fever. Even as an old platitude may through the audible response of others to it indirectly arouse enthusiasm in a weary listener, the legendary tales that are revived during every boom may indirectly lead even the sophisticated economist to invest his savings in the boom object.

The ideas that are accepted as valid and are made the basis for actions during the course of a boom may seem incredible after the inevitable crash has occurred. But there would seem to be no vaccine that will immunize people against the boom virus * The boom appears to be a recurrent attribute of the capitalistic system, and each succeeding boom gives grim point to the statement that men learn from history only that they do not learn from history.

The Craze.—Booms generate relatively slowly; but they generally collapse with startling suddenness. Crazes, on the other hand, generate as rapidly as the fad, although they collapse as suddenly as the boom The area of behavior that is involved in the craze is usually quite limited, but the people who are affected invariably devote a disproportionate part of their time to the craze activity. They figuratively go crazy about some actually unimportant thing. Occasionally the craze involves quasi-economic behavior, as was the case with the "send a dime" craze—a chain-letter method of getting rich that flowered in the spring of 1935.† In the main, however, the craze concerns some new or revived recreational activity

The miniature-golf craze of some years ago will illustrate these points During the palmy days of 1925–1929, one of the dominant

* In periods of economic activity the stock-market boom is often sufficiently absorbing to distract people from the lure of other boom possibilities It is, therefore, in periods of economic contraction that booms follow the most unconventional directions The years subsequent to 1929, when the public was most averse to speculation in industrial stocks, saw many brief local and national booms. Of local booms that of "ambergris" on the west coast near San Francisco is a good example Ambergris is a substance once very valuable for the making of perfume It is thought to issue from the sperm whale and is found occasionally washed up by the sea In March, 1934, a large lump of material thought to be ambergris was picked up along the west coast by poverty-stricken villagers. The thought of great wealth to be had for the finding sent hundreds of people to the beaches, and for months thereafter everything otherwise unidentified that the sea washed in was "ambergris" None of the finds actually proved to be ambergris, and the sequel to the story was the eventual revelation that technological developments had long since made ambergris of relatively small value anyway.

For a description of boom phenomena in their various historic aspects and a bibliography on the subject see "Boom" by M. S Handman (*Encycl. Soc. Sci*, **2**, 638–641)

† This was perhaps the most incredible craze of the many that have swept the country in recent years (T. Olson, 1935).

sports was golf. Expensive golf clubs sprang up all over the country, and the ancient Scotch game promised to become America's preoccupation. In 1929 the financial crash left many people with golfing equipment and with some skill at the game but with no opportunity to play. They found an outlet in a vacant-lot form of golf, which had been unsuccessfully sponsored by an equipment manufacturer for some years previously. Within a few months the craze for miniature golf spread over the entire country, and innumerable courses were erected. A few months later grass was growing in the paths of these courses, although millions of dollars had been invested in this craze. At its height, excitement was so great that even one of our saner intellectuals could write in *Harper's Magazine* to the effect that miniature golf was our recreational if not our financial salvation from the depression.

Like the boom, the craze is self-liquidating; the reason for its automatic collapse is, however, found in psychological rather than in economic factors. Ordinarily the primary value of a craze activity is that at the outset it makes an individual stand out from his fellows and thereby gives him notoriety. The moment the craze activity has become general, it loses this attention-getting value, and is then likely to be dropped by everyone. Games that are amusing and interesting may spring into popularity as fads and in time settle down to a steady and lasting life. Such was the history of the jigsaw puzzle. Those games, however, which become overnight the preoccupation of a large number of people seldom have anything more to recommend them than the fact that they are new and popular. This was the case with the game or contest of flagpole sitting, a tragicomedy of the late twenties and early thirties, which fell from popularity as soon as virtually every hamlet in the United States had its national contestant and the flagpole sitter no longer made news. A decade later an equally fantastic craze for public exhibitions of goldfish eating swept through college student bodies. It reached its climax with the eating of phonograph records and then died out, presumably for lack of anything less digestible to eat.

PRESTIGE LEADERSHIP

Systematically Shifting Leadership. There are some distant-contact situations in which the leadership shifts systematically from person to person in accordance with an established pattern. A radio debate is perhaps most clearly illustrative of this type. In it leadership alternates according to the formula for public debate. Systematic, too, is the shift in leadership that occurs when publications print

alternately articles for and against some controversial question Less obvious, but none the less controlled, is the shifting of leadership in the trade, technical, and scientific journals. Technicians and scientists more or less compete among themselves for space in the journal of their specialty, but for reasons of policy editors tend to give each of the competitors his turn in the pages of the journal Shifts in leadership are not, however, always of this systematic character

Prestige as a Basis for Leadership.—In any field of social life there are some names that make news; and such names may of themselves give a value to whatever the name is associated with. The attention-evoking power of such a name—place or personal—is termed prestige In some fields—notably scientific medicine and the physical sciences—there is probably a close relationship between the prestige of a name and the scientific merit of the man, for there is general agreement as to what does or does not constitute achievement in these fields But wherever evaluations are arrived at subjectively, as in art, music, and literature, the accomplishment is judged primarily by the prestige of the name attached to it; thus whether a painting attributed to Rembrandt is good or bad depends almost entirely upon whether it is or is not authentic.*

In face-to-face situations prestige factors operate in many ways, some of which we have already indicated. In distant-contact situations prestige operates to give certain authors, columnists, etc , a steady reader public, regardless of what they may write; to provide motion-picture stars with acclaim, no matter what the vehicle; etc. In radio, for example, it has been long recognized that a Guy Lombardo program will draw listeners from almost all other dance music that is on the air at the same hour.

Fashion Prestige.—The power of prestige factors in leadership is nowhere more apparent than in the realm of fashion The term "fashion" is often used indiscriminately to refer to currently accepted manners, morals, or modes of dress. It is rather doubtful, however, whether changes in manners and morals originate in some prestige

* For the effect of prestige on the acceptance of paintings see "Suggestion in pictures" (P. R Farnsworth and H Beaumont, 1929) and "Further data on suggestion in pictures" (P. R. Farnsworth and I Misumi, 1931).

Musicians themselves are accepted and rejected in fugitive fashion. A Mendelssohn or a Rossini is taken up by the "right people" who may later focus their interest on other musicians Thus in 1940 the most "eminent" musicians appeared to be Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, and Mozart, in that order But at the turn of the century Bach had a relatively low status The eminence list of that day included Wagner, Mendelssohn, Beethoven, and Schumann, respectively (P R Farnsworth, 1941*b*)

source and spread therefrom to all the members of a society. The processes that make for modifications in manners and morals are subtle and complex. Clothing changes, however, are unquestionably influenced by the prestige of their originators. We shall therefore restrict "fashion" to changes in modes of dress.

The process by which new clothing fashions spread is much the same as that which is responsible for the dissemination of rumors, fads, booms, and crazes.* Wearing clothes of the "latest style" is a bid for leadership in face-to-face situations, and to cling too long to the old marks out an individual for social disapproval and possibly contempt. The leadership process involved in fashion changes is, however, very different from that occurring in the fad, boom, or craze. In the realm of fashion there are prestige leaders, either specific people or places, the names of whom or of which are recognized as authoritative and thus give authenticity to the new modes of dress. Although a fad or craze pattern might be originated by almost anyone, only those clothing innovations sponsored by a prestige name have a chance to become fashionable. Competition for leadership in the dress-fashion field is, therefore, restricted to established designers. From their varied offerings the new—the fashionable—will be "chosen."

Men's Styles.—There was a time when the male was the ornate sex; but since the days of the powdered wig and the pantaloon, no very significant changes have occurred in the number and general character of the articles of clothing worn by men of the Occident. In the course of time, waistcoats have changed to vests; collars have grown lower and have changed from starched linen to celluloid and later to unstarched linen; trousers have alternated between wide and short, narrow and long, and wide and long; coats have shortened; and materials have changed. Sports clothes, including the serviceable slacks, have grown in favor, oxfords have replaced high shoes, and button shoes have become curiosities. Fads, such as the beret, have come and gone. During times of war, civilian clothes have taken on a slightly military tone. But the well-dressed male today wears much the same sort of clothing as did the men of a century ago, in spite of the diligent efforts of stylists to brighten, and some have said lighten, his dress.

* Analyses of changes in fashions can be found in the following publications: *The psychology of dress* (E. B. Hurlock, 1929); *The psychology of clothes* (J. C. Flügel, 1930); *Fashion in literature, a study of changing taste* (E. E. Kellett, 1931); *English dress: from Victoria to George V* (D. C. Calthrop, 1934); "A psychological analysis of fashion motivation" (E. Barr, 1934); "The psychology of clothes" (E. Harms, 1938); and *Three centuries of women's dress fashions: a quantitative analysis* (J. Richardson and A. L. Kroeber, 1940).

The minor variations in men's clothing were for long supposed to have originated in London, traditionally the prestige center for male attire. Presumably, also, certain members of the Royal House have been style leaders. But it is easy to exaggerate the importance of London's Bond Street and the part that certain Englishmen have played in the clothing habits of men of the Western world. Styles in youth's and young men's informal wear change; but no one appears to know or to care whether these changes have originated in London, in New York, or in some noted university. Furthermore, for business and dress wear last year's suit is quite likely to be good style for next year.

Women's Styles.—Women's fashions, on the other hand, change with comparative rapidity. Modern women are exceedingly style conscious. Tradition sanctions their use of clothing as a bid for attention; and even today most other means of securing favorable attention—political, financial, and similar achievements—are closed to them. Originally fashion changes were a consequence of the competition among the women of the French court for royal favor. Certain of the more notorious courtesans became accepted as fashion leaders; and the women of other courts—English, Italian, German, Russian—came in time to follow the lead that was set in Paris. After the French Revolution, Parisian clothing leadership drifted into the hands of the designers, whose names, rather than those of their noted clients, became the badge of fashion approval to all the women of the Occident who could afford to be stylish. Paris became synonymous with "right." For over a century all the more important trends originated among Paris *couturiers*. But in recent years the prestige of Paris has been seriously threatened, and the collapse of the French Republic may well have ended it. Interestingly enough, Hollywood is rapidly gaining the prestige that Paris has lost.* At present, the more noted of the motion-picture stars seem to play a role for the average American woman comparable to that which the noted courtesans of France once played for the aristocrats of western Europe.

The Nature of Fashion Leadership.—Thinking that they perceived a pattern or cycle in fashion changes, some observers have concluded that there is a natural law behind the fashion process.† Upon close

* For discussion of the gradual transition from dependence upon the "Designed in Paris" label to the "Designed in Hollywood" one, see "Fashion and the Hollywood handicap" (E. K. McDonnell, 1935). For a description of the attempt of the New York City clothing industry to make "New York Creation" the prestige label, see "New styles in unions" (J. C. Furnas, 1941).

† As far as the authors know the only study of dress fashions that can be justly called experimental is that reported in "Fad and fashion leadership among

examination, the "cycle" in fashion changes turns out to be no more than a reflection of the fact that the possibilities for change are limited. Thus, to cite but one example, if dress lengths are to change from year to year, they must get shorter for a time and then longer for a time. There are no other "directions" in which they can change, and there are absolute limits to how short a skirt can be and still be a skirt and to how long a skirt can be and still permit the wearer to walk. The rise and fall over the course of years may give the illusion of a natural "cycle"; but it is only an illusion.

Other observers, finding that any particular woman must follow the style trend or be unfashionable, have concluded that the fashion leaders dictate styles. No doubt a political dictator might—and some few have—by edict set the fashions in women's clothing as in other things. But no clothing stylist, even though fortified by the power of prestige, in any sense "dictates" to the women of America that skirts will be longer, fuller, or whatnot. This is clearly evidenced by the fact that the great designers invariably offer their clientele a number of variations on the current styles. They may attempt to predict from the "trend"—the tendency of more women buyers to purchase this rather than that—whether next season's demand will be for shorter or longer skirts, etc. But even so, no designer would think of gambling on the trend. He (or she) will hedge by offering longer as well as shorter skirts. The style leader is, after all, but one of the factors in a vast and complicated public interaction. Like the popular radio comedian, the stylist will be "listened to." But which of his varied offerings—if any—will be taken up and made the basis for a new clothing style depends upon the members of his public.

Finally, just as the radio comedian must not offend the sensibilities of his public, the clothing stylist cannot expect to gain a following for an offering that offends his public's sense of modesty or of economic expediency. When we reflect upon the cumbersome hoopskirt, the unhygienic corset, the grotesque bustle, and other idiosyncrasies of fashion in women's dress, we might well be tempted to conclude that modesty and utility play a very minor part in clothing leadership and that the prestige of the originator has a dictatorial effect. But there is an ancient saw as true of women and their clothing as of horses and their water: "You can lead a horse to water, but you cannot make him

undergraduate women" (J. E. Janney, 1941). Here the course of 67 unique clothing patterns was followed among a group of 279 college girls. The patterns were all originated by girls with prestige in other fields. Girls who failed to follow the new dress patterns were in general regarded by their classmates as socially inept.

drink." Fashion leaders lead women to the shops, but what and when the women will buy is quite unpredictable Millions are spent each year in trying to predict the trend of the styles of tomorrow; but within certain obvious limits all we can say of the styles of tomorrow is that they will be determined by the interactions of the publics of tomorrow, and that the course that these latter will take depends upon factors that are as yet too complex for human analysis

CHAPTER XXI

ABNORMAL SOCIAL SITUATIONS

In scientific usage the terms "normal" and "abnormal" imply a quantitative distinction. They do not indicate subjective approval or disapproval.* To science, anything that is commonplace, recurrent, or characteristic is considered normal. This is just as true of the behavior of human beings as it is of the behavior of electrons, atoms, and molecules, of amoebas, insects, and elephants, and of planets, stars, and galaxies. The fact that molecular, insect, human, or planetary behavior may be such that it destroys the things that behave is not a matter for scientific evaluation. If that behavior is characteristic, it is normal.

In the last three chapters, we have endeavored to analyze the more important types of interactional situations that appear to be normal to human societies. In this chapter, we shall consider those situations which are the exception rather than the rule Like all distinctions in the realm of human behavior, this one is of course a matter of degree. No given situation can be completely characteristic or entirely exceptional.

In our society, some of the normal situations involve random and dynamic changes in behavior - the fad, the boom, the craze, and the fashion. But these changes, although they are not orderly or systematic, are the rule rather than the exception As individuals, we are prepared to follow the current of such change; this preparation is a part of our present social heritage. Other random and dynamic changes occur in situations that are not socially established and for which the members have not been socially prepared Such situations are abnormal in that participation involves a denial of what the members have been taught to consider as social realities. For just as the maladjusted individual may in the effort to achieve an adjustment break away from his social training and see snakes where he has been taught to see none, so numbers of badly maladjusted people may during the course of an interaction break away from their social

* An unusual view of the concept "abnormal society" is taken in "An examination of criteria for the determination of normal society" (J M Gillette, 1937). It is held that normal and abnormal are merely symbols invented for reasons of wishful thinking.

heritage and follow a new and fantastic road to personal, economic, or political salvation.

The Abnormal Situation as Tension-releasing.—Abnormal collective behavior, like abnormal individual behavior, appears to be a method of resolving the psychological tensions that have arisen as a consequence of maladjustment. All the types of abnormal situations that we shall discuss appear most frequently during times of social disintegration and among those elements of the population most adversely affected by such disintegration. The spectacular rise of Father Divine,* of Doctor Townsend, of Huey Long, and of other leaders of "mass movements" during the 1930's was, for example, closely related to the economic hardships caused by the depression; and all drew their followers from segments of the population (Harlem Negroes, destitute elders, "poor whites") that had been most sorely affected thereby. Furthermore, all such "movements" tend to break down with the gradual reestablishment of some semblance of economic normality

There is every reason to believe that abnormal collective behavior is a symptom of widespread maladjustment, that it is an attempt, however random, to change or escape from the circumstances that bring about maladjustment, and that it serves, if nothing else, to effect some release of accumulated tensions. Apparently the "circus" aspect of the old Roman practice of pacifying the discontented masses with a little bread and much circus was based upon a recognition of the tension-discharging function of certain forms of collective behavior. We today seem to find a gratifying release from the monotony of normal life—itself tension-generating—by occasional participation in some more or less commonplace, but to us as individuals unusual, form of collective activity—such as shouting ourselves hoarse at a political rally, a football game, or a prize fight and dancing, laughing, and drinking ourselves weary at a night club or the like

THE AUDIENCE *FANATIQUE*

In some social systems, it has been the practice to hold ecstatic rituals under culturally indicated circumstances. Ordinarily the members of the situation, starting as an audience under the leadership of a magician or priest, gradually become activated until, at the climax of the ritual, they reach a condition in which the usual social restraints upon behavior become inoperative. The primitive war dance, for example, was a magic ritual that was supposed to frighten the guardian

* For a discussion of the rise of Father Divine, the Oxford Group, and the Townsend Plan see *The psychology of social movements* (H. Cantril, 1941).

spirits of the enemy, to appease those of the dancers, and thereby to assure success. What it actually did, of course, was to make the tribal members more responsive to leadership and less responsive to painful stimuli. Through audience interstimulation the suggestibility of each member was increased to the point at which the war chief could secure almost automatic response to his commands. His hysterical followers would obey without regard to their personal safety.

The occurrence of the primitive war dance was institutionalized In the modern world, the closest approach to an activated audience that is customary, recurrent, and socially prepared for is the auction. In the auction situation the members are pitted one against the other, and a form of interaction that encourages the members to buy things they will not want an hour later or to pay prices they would not have paid at a department store is thereby induced. The interaction of the members of the auction situation is, however, passive and "rational" in comparison with that of the primitive war dance.

Most nearly approaching the degree of activation achieved in the war dance is the interaction that occurs in the audience *fanatique* With the possible exception of the semireligious* and regular outbursts of such sects as the Holy Rollers and of the Negroes in our deep South, there is nothing recurrent or characteristic about the appearance of the audience *fanatique* This situation thrives on discontent—economic, social, or physical; but the inception of an audience *fanatique* is almost entirely dependent upon the whim and fancy of evangelical leadership.

Evangelical Meetings. Typical of the audience *fanatique* is the condition to which evangelists† frequently lead their congregations in "saving their souls" or in "healing" their bodies. The evangelistic harangue makes its greatest appeal to the disgruntled, the thrill-seeking, the unoccupied, the unhappy, and the discouraged members of a community By the skillful use of the simplest stereotypes, religious and patriotic, the evangelist converts his listeners to the

* Psychological studies of the religious aspects of the audience *fanatique* can be found in the following: *Primitive traits in religious revivals* (F. M Davenport, 1905), *Speaking with tongues: historically and psychologically considered* (G. B Cutten, 1927); *The psychology of religion* (C C. Josey, 1927); *A study of religious fanaticism* (N. M. G. Ekdahl, 1920), *The psychology of religious adjustment* (E S. Conklin, 1929); *A psychological study of religious conversion* (W. L. Jones, 1937), and "Economic distress and religious experiences: a study of the Holy Rollers" (A T Boisen, 1930) See also H. W. Schneider's article "Religious revivals" (*Encycl. Soc Sci.*, **13**, 303-306).

† A description of the methods of one of the leading evangelists of the century is given in *Sister Aimee* (N. B Mavity, 1931)

acceptance of the idea that he represents superhuman forces. Since the audience members have seldom been socially trained to the acceptance of this idea, considerable dependence is placed upon audience interstimulation, through which leadership stimuli may be intensified to such a degree that they become psychologically imperative. The evangelist initiates a pattern of interaction among the audience members, guides it toward acceptance of his "divine" or almost divine leadership, and, this accomplished, leads the members of the audience in whatever direction he desires Few are the individuals who possess the superb showmanship that is necessary to make temporary religious fanatics out of the relatively stolid members who are likely to assemble in tent or temple, but these few are remarkably effective

Skill in developing audience fanaticism has been directed to various ends It has been said that the late Billy Sunday often used his skill to divert the attention of striking laborers from their grievances against their employers He was encouraged to evangelize a community that was torn by industrial strife and thereby to arouse workers to such an interest in saving their souls that they would forget to be concerned about wages and conditions of labor. Under the manipulation of political evangelists, political rallies and conventions have been swung over the rather vague line that distinguishes a conversion audience from an audience *fanatique*

THE UNCOORDINATED RIOT SITUATION*

The audience *fanatique* follows a specific leader, who guides the interaction into rather well defined and hence predictable channels The leadership of some abnormal situations, however, is as shifting as is that of the game situation and as unpredictable as is that of the fad; and the pattern of interaction spreads until the actions of all members of the group are quite similar to those of the leader. Such is the nature of uncoordinated rioting, possibly the most senseless and meaningless behavior in which men indulge

Mimicry in the Brawl.—The key to the character of the uncoordinated riot situation is found in the nature of the leadership process By analogy, the reactions of the members of the situation to the one

* The term "crowd" has been used so loosely that we shall avoid it here Martin, for example, uses the term to include relatively noninteracting aggregates of people, certain types of audiences, panic situations, uncoordinated and coordinated riots, and even the pattern of revolution. See *The behavior of crowds* (E D Martin, 1920) See also Chap XIV in *Social learning and imitation* (N. E Miller and J. Dollard, 1941)

who initiates action are like those of psychopathic individuals who merely repeat what is said to them; but the behavior that is mimicked in such a riot is anything but verbal, and the results are far more displeasing. The leadership action that is mimicked may take almost any form. The process may be illustrated by the relatively common barroom brawl. Perhaps the men are seamen, laborers just out of mine or factory, or a heterogeneous collection of men from various walks of life. Their normal behavior is peaceful enough. They drift in and get a drink, talk with friends or friendly strangers, and then drift out again. But, as every bartender knows, these normally peaceful men may need nothing more than an example to set them to cracking one another's heads for no better reason than that one of their number begins fighting with another. A heated argument between two erstwhile friends which culminates in an exchange of blows may be the relatively innocent starting point for an uncoordinated riot in which many men are injured and considerable property is destroyed.

The moment that overt conflict appears between two men, the bartender or his bouncer* may assume leadership of the men who are assembled around the bar. If he does not and if no one steps in as a self-appointed representative of peace and order, others may mimic the combatants and begin a riot. Audience participation usually starts with a good-humored taking of sides on the part of the non-combative members of the situation; then comes a rapid following of the argument pattern suggested by the combatants and a quick culmination in indiscriminate attack upon one another. The original combatants are leaders only in the sense that they set a pattern to be taken up by those around them. They are not leaders in the sense in which we have previously used the term.

The interaction that takes place in the uncoordinated riot has no focal point, *i.e.*, it is not polarized. Once such a riot has got under way, it is, therefore, usually impossible for any single individual to get the attention of the members of the situation and thus secure control over them. Only physical exhaustion or the introduction of some superior physical force will terminate the situation. In view of this

* The bouncer simply evicted troublemakers by force. Lacking a bouncer, the old-time bartender might "organize" a potential riot into a harmless situation. When two men passed from argument to open conflict, the bartender jumped into the role of referee. By the quick command "Give them room, boys!" and by other proper actions he made a show of the impromptu battle and put his other customers in the role of spectators. The situation then became one of an audience, with the members focalized upon the combatants rather than upon one another.

fact, all those who deal with congregations of men, particularly men of the floating type who are poorly disciplined and more or less maladjusted, must be riot conscious and ready to take command of the situation at the first indication of trouble. Dance-hall, saloon, flophouse, and other bouncers are employed to check a disturbance at its inception. If they let open conflict spread from one set of combatants to another, the situation will get beyond control

Uncoordinated riots may at times be expressive of underlying tensions, as is the case when difficult economic conditions have led to general discontent and uncertainty * In the towns near which troops were concentrated, café riots among soldiers were an almost nightly affair during World War I. These frequently started between men of different armies, as Americans versus English or Canadians versus English, and between men of different outfits, as artillery versus marines. A brief exchange of insults would lead to overt conflict between two men, and soon every soldier in the place would be striking out for himself. In such a melee whatever group distinction existed at the outset tended to disappear

Uncoordinated riots usually occur among people who are somewhat accustomed to settling their personal differences by rough-and-ready methods. The waterfront dives in any large port have a heavy incidence of uncoordinated rioting. It must not be supposed, however, that such rioting is a pastime unknown to the "cultured" members of society Not even the highest class of night club or other amusement place in which people are not organized into an audience is riotproof. Wherever and whenever people congregate and yet lack effective organization, they are capable of following the suggestion of any two who decide to fight it out in public. Effective organization may arise through congeniality, as in a gathering of people in the park on a sunny afternoon; in conventional factors, as at a garden party, or through leadership, as in the audience Something interesting to do may of itself be sufficient to prevent sus-

* Such rioting has been, for example, an important form of Sunday recreation during the past century for the poor of some of our large cities. See K. Smellie's article "Riot" (*Encycl. Soc. Sci*, **13**, 386–388).

The following are a few of the many vital, widespread, and long-lived riots of American history the Negro Riots, Philadelphia, 1838, the "Native American" Riots, continuous for three months in 1844, the Abolitionist Riots preceding the Civil War; the "Draft" Riots of 1863 in New York City; the violent rioting that was due to prolonged economic difficulties in the larger cities in the 1870's, and Chicago's destructive Haymarket Riot in 1886

Characteristic of the uncoordinated riots of recent years was that which occurred in New York's Harlem in March, 1935 (*Time*, April 1, 1935, 12–13)

ceptibility to rioting, as is the case when people are interested in play in an amusement park.

THE PANIC SITUATION

Although the other characteristics of a sudden crisis situation are usually quite different from those of the uncoordinated riot, the leadership process may be of the same mimicking order. Abnormal circumstances, such as fire in a theater, listing of a ship at sea, or earthquake affecting people in crowded streets, are unanticipated and are all too often unprepared for. Everyone is more or less startled and aroused for action but is incapable of achieving immediately a pattern of adjustment to the circumstances. Technically we might say that the members of the situation are unprepared to react adequately to the stimuli. They are, for example, familiar with the sight and smell of smoke but not with smoke-in-theater. If by any chance they have previously experienced this latter combination of factors, they will have learned, not to depart in an orderly and systematic fashion from the presence of the noxious stimuli, but to be panic-stricken (W Trotter, 1940).

A few moments after smoke is evident in a theater, a moment after it becomes apparent that something is wrong with the ship, or the instant after the first quake has passed is the "psychological moment" for the appearance of responses that may be imitated. The attention of everyone is on the new circumstance, everyone is ready to act, and everyone is for the moment restive. Unless leadership steps in and achieves a temporary regimentation (by, perhaps, the forceful command "Stand still!"), the first one to act in an imitable way will set the pattern for all.

Theater Panics.—Before the days of fireproof theater construction, fires in theaters were not uncommon.* Frequently more people died from being trampled to death than from suffocation or burns. No matter how many or how wide the doors, they might be so much jammed by the pressure of the panic-stricken audience that few people could escape. After the tragic Iroquois Theater fire in Chicago in

* Most panics are initiated in direct-contact situations. A notable exception was that panic set off in 1938 among the war-apprehensive people of the eastern seaboard by the radio broadcast—in reporting form—of a play in which the region was supposed to be under attack by a military force from Mars. In this instance, there was no single leadership pattern that the listeners could mimic Instead, each direct-contact group formed its own little panic situation. See *The invasion from Mars* (H. Cantril *et al.*, 1940) for a detailed study of this unusual panic.

1903,* theater audiences in this country were so fire-conscious that it was dangerous for an actor to smoke as a part of his characterization, since someone was likely to yell "Fire!" and start a stampede for the exits Years of advertising the impressive but by no means completely effective asbestos curtain were required to make people forget the hazards of a theater fire It would seem, therefore, that people are often not so much unprepared for crisis as they are prepared for panic. Quite possibly the tales of theater, ship, earthquake, and other disasters help to make the members of a crisis situation susceptible to panic leadership

The responses of the members of an audience in a theater to the cry "Fire!" are of the same order as are the responses of the men in a barroom to the two fighters who set off an uncoordinated riot The members of the theater audience mimic the actions of the one who overtly expresses his panic and communicate panic one to another, much as they may previously have communicated their appreciation of the program This panic, which can be objectively described as an effort to get away—to run—is amplified, like applause, through interstimulation

War and Panic.—The German army, which was the first to apply modern principles of social psychology to military combat, did everything possible to induce panic behavior among the civilians of France during the campaign of 1940 The so-called "war of nerves" was intended to mystify, impress, and weary the populace It served to prepare the French people for panic reaction to the crisis that came at the first breaking through by the Germans Using many ingenious devices—such as the planting among the civilian population of traitors who, at the signal, were to set off rumors of impending catastrophe or to provide flight behavior as the pattern of action to be mimicked—the Germans succeeded in filling the roads with hordes of panic-stricken refugees. Further chaos was created by air attack upon these masses, with the result that the French and British military found the roads impassable and could not, therefore, move supplies and troops up to the battle zone †

Prevention of Panics.—Just as the uncoordinated riot may be checked by the bartender, panic may be checked by effective leadership. The usual technique in the theater in those days when fire was

* Two great fire panics are described graphically in *World's greatest calamities: the Baltimore fire and Chicago theatre horror* (H D Northrop, 1904)

† For a detailed discussion of the German army's application of social psychology to military conquest see *German psychological warfare* (L Farago and L. F Gittler, eds , 1941).

a real hazard was to keep the play going on as though nothing had happened If by this means the members of the audience could be held in their seats until they had to some degree become accustomed to the idea of danger, panic could be averted. Sometimes the orchestra would strike up the national anthem, which would almost automatically bring the audience members to their feet and hold them in their places. This technique was most effective We have all been trained to stand in our places when the national anthem is being played; and when baffled by unprecedented crisis conditions, we usually respond to anything that is familiar

Theater panics are rare today, but the danger of panic in certain other places has not appreciably diminished. Barring prevention of crises, the only means of preventing panic is to provide antipanic leadership, a provision that is not easily accomplished It is the legal right and duty of a ship's captain to assume regimental command over his crew and passengers in times of crisis, but this legal right does not of course give him actual power of leadership. Unless the members of a crisis situation have previously been given long regimental training and are, therefore, unfailingly obedient to the commands of the designated leader, antipanic leadership will at best be fragile.

Mutual Aid. Stories of ship disasters are usually romanticized to fit the women-and-children-first tradition. The fact is that men, particularly the stronger men, are far more likely to survive than are either women or children, although there are authenticated instances in which people under crisis conditions have acted in the most self-sacrificing way. In ship, mine, earthquake, and other sudden crises men have been known to work together at the risk of their individual welfare and even to sacrifice themselves so that the majority might be saved.* Such incidents have been made the basis for the theory of natural group loyalty or mutual aid For every recorded case of mutual aid there are, however, many of brutal and mutual destruction

Apparently, the behavior of people under crisis conditions is determined almost entirely by the nature of the leadership that happens to arise. Self-interested leadership results in general panic. Heroic

* The Russian idealist Kropotkin collected some material on panic from rather doubtful sources and made it the basis for the anarchistic argument in his *Mutual aid: a factor of evolution* (P. Kropotkin, 1922). A detailed analysis of the events that followed immediately upon the great Halifax disaster of 1917 is given in *Catastrophe and social change* (S H. Prince, 1920). Certain theoretical implications of the panic situation are presented in "Disaster and the sequence-pattern concept of social change" (L. J Carr, 1932) *The story of San Michele* (A. M. F. Munthe, 1930) and *The psychology of suggestion* (B Sidis, 1898) give accounts of panic situations in which behavior of a self-sacrificing sort occurred

leadership leads to heroic action, which may or may not be collectively expedient. Too frequently heroic behavior is stupidly melodramatic. It has happened that, when women and children have been given precedence in a ship disaster, the heroic males have packed them into boats and set them adrift without men to man the boats. On the other hand, it has also happened that a leader has arisen—sometimes an inconspicuous member of the crew or an otherwise undomineering passenger—who has organized the people around him in a most efficient manner Under such leadership in crisis conditions people are capable of Herculean efforts.* But unled, except by the example of a hysterical person, they become maddened beasts In the crisis more than in any other situation there is need for sane individual leadership Undoubtedly it was the calm, forceful leadership of Prime Minister Winston Churchill which, more than any other single factor, prevented the rise of panic among the people of the British Isles when, in 1940, the unexpected fall of France and the incredibly disastrous flight from Dunkerque subjected them to the threat of imminent invasion

A famine, flood, or plague may constitute a crisis and may result in panic. Rapid social changes also precipitate crisis conditions, and if panic is to be avoided, forceful individual leadership must operate to guide people through social transition. It is a social crisis, or what can be made to appear as a social crisis, that makes possible the rise of a political dictator. Furthermore, as we have already suggested, the dynamic character of our present milieu permits, indeed necessitates, the appearance of dominating and dynamic individual leadership in many walks of contemporary life. This line of thought takes us toward the problem of revolutionary leadership, but before considering it, we must turn our attention to two types of situations—coordinated riots and mass movements—which are the materials from which revolutions are fabricated

COORDINATED RIOT SITUATIONS

The Mob.—The term "mob" usually implies violent overt action, destruction of life and property, and temporariness. We have designated actions of this order in which leadership operates by mimicry as

* The seemingly superhuman strength sometimes to be observed in crisis situations appears to be due at least in part to two factors The exciting forces, mediated by the sympathetic autonomics, cause the adrenal glands to release more than the customary amount of adrenalin into the blood stream. This compound acts as a whip for added work and prevents the individual from becoming quickly fatigued Furthermore, when attention is shifted to more exciting stimuli, a hypalgesia (lessening of response to pain) occurs; and a man is not so likely to stop his efforts because of pain as he would under ordinary conditions

uncoordinated riots. In the uncoordinated riot action is undirected. In contrast are those situations in which violent, destructive, and transitory action is guided by a single member who is followed rather than mimicked. Such situations may be termed coordinated riots and the members of them true mobs.*

Lynching. - For most peoples the collective killing of a human being is acceptable only when it is the consequence of institutional procedures, and mob killing is socially disapproved. During the early days in the far west lynching was, perhaps, a conventional substitute for due process of the law in dealing with horse thieves and certain other antisocial persons. To the extent that such lynching actually served in lieu of usual forms of crime suppression, it can be considered as simply an atypical form of collective behavior. But the sporadic lynching of Negroes in the southeast and the rarer lynching of white kidnappers or other public enemies are definitely abnormal patterns of interaction.†

The technique of the lynching mob is today almost exclusively American. Many lynchings are in a sense protests against the locally unsatisfactory judicial system. But they never cure the source of social difficulty and may thus be considered merely as vengeance wreaked upon a symbol of locally undesirable social conditions. In certain regions of the United States there is a constant tension between poor whites and equally poor Negroes. Although their poverty is traceable to complex social factors,‡ the whites tend to blame their

* The term "mob," like that of "crowd," has been applied to almost every conceivable type of social situation, to the confusion of students of social situations. L. L. Bernard in his article "Mob" (*Encycl. Soc. Sci.*, **10**, 552–554) distinguishes between the "purposive and active" and the "confused and random" types of mobs. Apparently he has in mind the distinction that we have drawn between the coordinated and the uncoordinated riot. Following somewhat the lead set by Tarde, Le Bon devoted considerable attention to what is primarily the coordinated riot type of situation. See *The psychology of revolution* (G. Le Bon, 1913) and *The crowd: a study of the popular mind* (G. Le Bon, 1910).

† F. W. Coker points out that modern lynchings should not be confused with the extralegal punishment of criminals under early frontier conditions ("Lynching," *Encycl. Soc. Sci.*, **9**, 639–643). Today lynching is not a substitute for law and order. At best it is a social protest against the delays and uncertainties of the processes of the law; at worst it is a brutal form of recreation.

All lynchings receive implicitly, if not openly, a degree of social sanction. The San Jose, California, affair of 1934 was given favorable mention by many leading citizens and even by the governor of the state. And in many parts of the south the whites quite freely express the view that lynching is the only method of keeping their group in power. The activities in Nazi Germany purporting to "protect the purity of Nordic blood" are much the same sort of phenomenon.

‡ Coefficients of correlation of approximately −.63 have been found between

plight on the Negroes The Negroes provide a villain for the social drama in which the whites find their part a tragic one. The whites are therefore ready to direct the force of all their discontent upon any Negro who gives or seems to give just cause for wrath Should a Negro rape a white girl or should, as occasionally happens, a white girl make the charge simply to gain attention, that Negro may become a tangible villain in the minds of the whites.

Ordinarily the first stage in the crystallization of the dramatic form that may be discerned in any Negro lynching is the arrest, by accredited officials, of some Negro male Rumors soon spread among the whites of the community to the effect that they must play an active part as hero To see that the officials do their duty, men with nothing more interesting to do drift down to the courthouse and there provide an audience for anyone who feels most inclined to speak This may be the father of the girl, a political opponent of the local sheriff, or someone else with a bone to pick He harangues the group, usually upon the need for keeping "niggers in their place," and may deliberately direct his efforts to the formation of a lynching party Whether he does or not, there is always the chance that his audience will become activated and that leadership will be snatched by someone who cries "Let's lynch the black . . . !" All too frequently the activated audience then becomes a mob, responsive to the loudest voice Since many of the members have previously participated in lynchings and all know the technique of lynching, they can follow the leader without difficulty If they blunder and consequently strangle rather than hang their victim, such a detail escapes notice in the excitement of the moment Since they have destroyed but a symbol of their discontent and have in no way changed the cause, they have accomplished nothing except perhaps a further intimidation of the Negroes.

Social Disorganization and Mob Violence.—There is a close relationship between critical social circumstances and mob violence. Every race, labor, and political riot is preceded by a long period of increasing covert friction between two racial (actually cultural) groups, between dominant employers and subservient laborers,* or

the numbers of lynchings that occurred between 1882 and 1930 in fourteen Southern states and the Ayres indexes of economic activity in those states Between the number of lynchings and the per-acre value of cotton the figure was even higher Hovland and Sears, who gathered the data, interpret them in terms of "displaced aggression" The "poor whites," adversely affected by hard times and unable to improve their lot, relieve their frustrations in aggressive acts against the innocent Negro (C I Hovland and R. R Sears, 1940) See also Chap XV of *Social learning and imitation* (N E Miller and J Dollard, 1941)

* In the days of the hard-driving captains of sailing vessels, revolt on the part

between the politically dominant and the politically subordinated. This friction grows out of functional breakdown of the old system of relationships and is usually a concomitant of underlying social changes. Ultimately the time comes when the members of one faction feel that their survival is dependent upon the annihilation of the other. Even then, overt breach may be long postponed for the simple reason that no one member of the disgruntled group can with impunity act as an individual to protect or to regain his "rights." During periods of tension, sporadic one-man wars may occur, but these can be dealt with quickly and easily by the police or other recognized agents of society.

Effective organization of individual discontent is usually precipitated by some rash act on the part of the "enemy." This is the incident that is sometimes mistakenly referred to as the cause. It may consist of refusal to listen to the complaints of the disgruntled, of an added insult—as a lowering of wage scales or of a savage and enraging burst of gunfire. It need not be important in itself, it is simply the last straw. This final straw precipitates the crisis and makes it possible for leaders to arise—first, perhaps, as conversion-audience leaders rather than as leaders in overt action against the oppressors. In such a crisis a leader may weld the disgruntled into a mob that is capable of intense violence against the common "enemy."

Race and Labor Riots.—Following the northern migration of Negro labor, race riots* occurred in a number of northern cities. White laborers had come to blame their discontent upon the presence of the cheap Negro labor; and when tension became acute, some minor incident precipitated rioting between the two racial groups. In central Europe, rioting against the Jews has long been a favorite device of political leaders. When discontent among the non-Jews threatens the political *status quo*, a pogrom is instigated in the hope that tensions will be dissipated in attack upon the Jews rather than upon the political leaders.

Labor riots† have occurred quite frequently since the advent of industrialism. The riots of poor and embittered laborers in Eliza-

of seamen was a constant hazard. To such revolt the term "mutiny" was applied. F. L. Schuman ("Mutiny," *Encycl. Soc. Sci.*, 11, 166-167) defines mutiny as "protest behavior on the part of subordinates whose normal deferential attitude toward commanders . . . [has] broken down," a definition that applies equally well to revolt against political leadership on land.

* These race riots between Negroes and whites are discussed in *The Negro in Chicago* (Chicago Commission on Race Relations, 1922).

† The great railroad strike of 1877 is described in *Annals of the great strikes in the United States* (J. A. Dacus, 1877). A more recent review of American strikes is given in *Dynamite: the story of class violence in America* (L. Adamic, 1934). See also *Industrial conflict* (G. W. Hartmann and T. Newcomb, eds., 1939).

bethan England provide some of the most depressing pages of Western history The rise of labor unionism, with its appointed leaders and bargaining tactics, has acted to reduce the danger of sporadic rioting, but in periods of general economic difficulty the unions usually lose their hold upon the workers, and rioting occurs among the more desperate. The labor riot differs from the race riot only in that the "enemy" is more concentrated, consisting as it does of a single employer or group of employers and their hirelings The police and even the state militia may belong to this last category, in which case the labor riot takes on the appearance of a political riot The action of rioting laborers is limited only by the ingenuity of the self-appointed leaders and the endurance of the mob. There is no necessary relationship between the ability of these leaders as riot leaders and their skill as military or political strategists Although prestige may assist a man in securing leadership of rioting laborers, the primary qualities for leadership of any riot are probably a strident voice, inability to think beyond the exigencies of the moment, and a powerful, thus confidence-inspiring, physique

The organization of people in a riot situation is always subject to quick and unpredictable repolarization The coordinated riot may degenerate into an uncoordinated one, and it is by no means uncommon for a riot leader to find that someone has usurped his place as leader and that he is being chased rather than followed.

THE MASS MOVEMENT

When a series of abnormal situations arise upon the basis of a fantastic idea or belief, the result is a "mass movement,"* which can be most readily described as a collective flight from reality. Perhaps the most spectacular and prolonged mass movement of recorded history was the medieval Crusades, during which a significant proportion of the population of western Europe migrated toward the Holy Land, inspired by the fixed belief that peace and prosperity would be granted all Christian peoples if the Infidels could be driven from Jerusalem.

Here in America every period of political and economic crisis has fostered one or more mass movements. Many of these have centered around some new interpretation of the Divine will. The witch-

* When, as frequently happens, the movement centers around the person of a single leader—a messiah—it is more properly termed a messianic than a mass movement See "Messianism" by H Kohn (*Encycl Soc Sci*, 10, 356–363) The distinction is not, however, adhered to in the sociopsychological literature, Cantril, for example, considers the movement that centered around Father Divine a "mass" movement (H Cantril, 1941). See also "Acculturation and messianic movements" (B Barber 1941).

hunting that swept over the New England colonies during the 1690's is perhaps the earliest on record. During the critical times following the Revolution, a great religious revival occurred among the destitute people of what were then the western parts of the newly organized country. And time after time since, groups of malcontents have gathered around some psychopath who promised to show the way to earthly perfection. Many of our various religious sects were started by such "messiahs" and began as fanatical mass movements. Of these the rise of Mormonism has perhaps been the most startling and had the most profound and lasting consequences.

Although all mass movements have their quasi-religious element—the "idea" involves new and previously unrecognized "laws" of life—not all are concerned with religious salvation. Moreover, even the religious mass movement may be at basis an attempt to solve some pressing economic or political problem. As was mentioned earlier, the economic difficulties that were precipitated by the stock-market crash of 1929 gave rise to a considerable number and variety of mass movements. These involved quasi-religious factors, but all the movements were directed toward the material improvement of the people involved. Thus the followers of Doctor Townsend came to believe that he had discovered a new law of economic life and that he was a worker of economic miracles. His "plan," however, was directed toward providing, through a fantastic pension scheme, all the old people of the country with a high material standard of living. An even larger religious element was involved in the movement that developed around "Father" Divine This movement sucked in and further impoverished a great many northern Negroes. They joined Divine's "Heavens" under the illusion that he was God and that, once they had entered one of his earthly heavens, they would live in permanent peace and perpetual prosperity.

The economic crisis of the early 1930's precipitated many preexisting tensions in Europe, too In Germany limited mass movements had been appearing all through the preceding decade. It was there, for example, that the back-to-nature, so-called youth movement first made its appearance. Repercussions of this particular movement reached America in the form of the nudist cult, a movement based upon the idea that the way to health and happiness lay in removal of one's clothing. But one element of a profound mass movement, nudism in Germany was less significant in itself than as an indication of the discontent of the people and a forerunner of what was to come With the further sharpening of discontent after 1929, the conditions were propitious for a great politico-religious upheaval; and it was around the person of Hitler and the ideologies of Nazism that

this occurred. Securing its early support on the basis of mass fanaticism, the Nazi party soon pushed on to effect an insidious revolution in German economic, political, and religious life.*

THE REVOLUTION

In the wider sense, the revolution is sociological rather than sociopsychological. It is a long series of events through which major changes in a social system may be effected. But the preface to revolutionary violence is usually one or more mass movements, and that violence invariably takes the form of coordinated political riots.† Mass movements and political riots always have their revolutionary implications, although a given mass movement may have no lasting political effects and many riots are necessary before revolutionary changes in a political system can be effected.

Leadership in Revolution.—Revolution is not of itself a change in the social system. It is but a change in leadership, upon which depends the attainment, largely through trial and error, of the change in conditions. The layman is inclined to believe that the presence of radical leaders make for revolution. The fact is that radical leaders simply direct or attempt to direct mass movements and coordinate or attempt to coordinate a large number of riots, both labor and political. The radical is no more the cause of revolution than the rudder is the cause of the motion of a ship. Like the ship's rudder, the radical leader endeavors to direct the surging mass.‡

Although political riots are generated by malfunctioning of a social system, they are invariably directed toward the destruction of persons

* For an account of the rise of the Nazi party as a social movement see Chaps. VIII and IX in *The psychology of social movements* (H. Cantril, 1941).

† The years following the economic crisis of 1929 witnessed a considerable outbreak in coordinated riots. In Germany, Italy, France, England, America, and elsewhere, riots of a politico-economic character were frequent and prolonged. In Paris, for example, general street rioting between communists and socialists, between each of these and the "general public," and between all of these and the police followed the revelations of political corruption in the Stavisky affair (A. Werth, 1934). Severe rioting occurred between labor and the police and between civil servants and the police following a general reduction in wages ordered by the French government in July and August of 1935. In America there were farmer riots (mainly against mortgage foreclosure) during 1933 (C. Hicks, 1934, and N. C. Meier, G. H. Mennenga, and H. J. Stoltz, 1941) and riots accompanying the San Francisco general strike of July, 1934.

‡ It is true, of course, that the professional revolutionist endeavors to excite as well as direct the populace. But if there is no social sore already at the festering point, his efforts will usually be in vain. In a period such as our own, when the struggle for political and economic leadership is intense, it is perhaps natural for men to view with alarm everything they dislike or do not understand. But

or classes of persons, who serve as a symbol of the causes of discontent. Revolting masses do not relate their discontent to the social system itself but to the people who represent that system—police, army, aristocracy, or whatnot. It is the established political and economic elite who are for the masses the tangible "villains" of the drama in which they themselves play a tragic part. The rioting is therefore directed toward a destruction of a symbol of the social system rather than toward reformation of that system. Only when conditions have become so intolerable that revolt follows revolt in disorderly succession, does radical leadership representing a new philosophy of political and economic life become significant. Then and only then may it grasp leadership and direct revolt toward something more fundamental than a change in the personnel of political and economic leadership.*

Once one has escaped from the rather naive idea that radical leaders make revolt and thus revolution, it becomes evident that it is the failure of reactionary leadership to adjust to changing conditions that results eventually in overthrow of such leadership. It was, for example, the traditionalism of the French aristocrats rather than their greedy parasitism which led to the French Revolution and to their downfall. Economic changes had brought about the growth of a new class—the bourgeois or middle—which was refused political recognition. Crushed between economic pressures from behind and the unyielding wall of political traditionalism in front, this class grew more and more discontented. Rioting was precipitated by an incident and spread throughout the industrial cities of France. For many days the movement had a common enemy, the aristocracy, but no single leadership. In time some few men rose to domination here and there, men prepared by training in radical doctrines to coordinate riotous action. They brought a form of order out of chaos and directed revolt toward revolutionary accomplishment. The Russian Revolution followed much the same pattern.† The Nazi Revolution in Germany deviated from the pattern only, perhaps, in that it involved more of

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leaders and leadership, whatever their nature, are an integral part of a complex pattern of forces; and propaganda, a name for one of the methods by which new leaders rise to power, cannot be looked upon as the chief villain of the drama of social change. See *The propaganda menace* (F. E. Lumley, 1933).

* Taking ancient Hebrew history as his text, Steffens described what he called a typical revolution in his *Moses in red: the revolt of Israel as a typical revolution* (L. Steffens, 1926).

† See *The Bolshevik revolution* (J. Bunyan, 1934). Suggestive of the sociopsychological aspects of revolution are *Leaders, dreamers, and rebels* (R. Fulöp-Miller, 1935) and *Rebel America* (L. Symes and T. Clement, 1934).

governmental leaders may feel that they will now live happily ever after.

RECAPITULATION

The theme of this book is that the human individual plays but a small role on a great and crowded stage and that he plays that role largely in accordance with a socially predetermined script.

From his society the individual derives those human attributes which give him social stature and which adapt him to nature and to the human beings who surround him from birth to death. If his society is a stable one, he will be guided at almost every step; undirected trial and error will play little part in what he does; and his experience will include few important errors.

Should his society, however, be a dynamic, changing one like ours, he will be in painful measure thrown upon his own resources. Since undirected trial and error—apparently his only "natural" means of learning—is largely error, he will often fail to make effective adaptations; and his errors may be fatal. Should he, furthermore, by force of social circumstances be one of those few who are expected to provide some measure of individual leadership for others, success will depend upon his happening to lead them in the direction in which they happen to be going. With some striking exceptions, the individual counts for little in the social scheme of things.

In all this the place of a scientific social psychology should by this time be self-evident. Modern social psychology has disposed of that ancient argument against social change—that the particular form which a society takes is an expression of man's innate and therefore unmodifiable nature. Human nature can be changed, but only as the forms of a society are changed.

Today we are in process of change, and a large measure of confusion reigns. We must nevertheless as individuals endeavor to adjust ourselves to social life. In this endeavor sociopsychological knowledge can be of significant assistance. An understanding of the laws of physics may help the individual to invent an efficient water wheel and will certainly prevent him from wasting his time on a perpetual-motion machine. An understanding of even what little is now known of the character and nature of sociopsychological processes may, in a like way, aid the individual in inventing a more adequate pattern of adjustment to the dynamic world around him than that which a disordered society has provided for his use. Such an understanding should at least prevent him from attempting to evade the realities of social life.

APPENDIX

1. Cooley's contribution to the development of social psychology can be traced through the literature. He wrote clearly and convincingly, and many subsequent writers have often borrowed his terms and his concepts and have frequently credited him as the source of the thesis they have elaborated

It is possible that George Mead contributed fully as much; but the medium of his contribution was the classroom, and the effect of his teaching is not, therefore, subject to historical analysis Mead wrote little and that badly He was, however, an inspiring teacher. During the first quarter of this century he developed in the classroom the same point of view as that which Cooley presented in his books In fact, Mead seems to have carried his analysis of the processes by which society develops human nature much farther than Cooley did and to have given more stress to the situational nature of individual behavior—to that extent anticipating recent trends in sociopsychological thinking

Mead's system centered on the process of "imitation" But unlike Tarde, Mead considered imitation descriptive of a process rather than explanatory of its consequences In his terminology, the child takes on, or attempts to take on, the role of the person he is imitating This role Mead terms the child's *other* (other self) In the course of time the child will take on in succession a great many specific roles, out of which there gradually emerges a fairly well integrated personality which Mead terms the *generalized other* or *me* In Chaps VI and VII the present authors discuss the process under the phrase "learning by example."

Mead's system has been published posthumously under the title *Mind, self, and society from the standpoint of a social behaviorist* (G H. Mead, 1934) For an evaluation of his contribution by one of his more ardent followers, see "The social psychology of George Mead" (E Faris, 1937*b*).

2 A notion of the history of twentieth century social psychology can be gained from the following books They are arranged chronologically in order of their first editions The chronology will serve to give the student some idea of how recently social psychology has emerged from the preconceptions of the past and a notion of its psychological (*), neurological and psychoanalytical (†), and sociological (‡) origins The list contains the majority of the published works in English which attempt to treat, somewhat broadly, the problem of social psychology Those by Sprowls and Karpf are studies of social psychology as a science rather than studies in the science.

‡1901 Ellwood, C A, *Some prolegomena to social psychology*
Doctoral thesis in which it is argued that social psychology must be the psychological interpretation of group (*i e*, cultural) phenomena This concept has set the boundaries for Ellwood's later works on the subject (listed below)

‡1902 Cooley, C H, *Human nature and the social order*
The modern classic in social psychology Human nature is considered as a consequence of habits acquired through experience with members of society—thus, as an indirect consequence of the "social order."

*1908 McDougall, W., *An introduction to social psychology.*
Under the influence of English philosophical and, especially, evolutionary doctrines, McDougall achieved a text that captured the attention of all social theorists and proved convincing to many. For a more extended treatment of McDougall's instinct theory with its dash of teleology, see page 20.

‡1908 Ross, E. A., *Social psychology.*
A study of the "planes and currents" within contemporary society. The influence of Tarde is pronounced, both conformity and nonconformity being described as a consequence of behavior imitation.

*1911 Baldwin, J. M., *The individual and society: or psychology and sociology.*
This book reflects the practical outlook of a pioneer of the school of functional psychology.

‡1917 Ellwood, C. A., *An introduction to social psychology.*
A description, rather than analysis, of sociological phenomena such as "social unity" and "social change." Certain psychological terms (*e.g.*, the instinctive) loom large.

‡1917 Bogardus, E. S., *Essentials of social psychology.*
A brief analysis of "group" phenomena.

*1920 McDougall, W., *The group mind.*
Although published after World War I, most of this—a sequel to his *An introduction to social psychology*—was written before that catastrophe. Its subtitle well describes its contents. *A sketch of the principles of collective psychology with some attempt to apply them to the interpretation of national life and character.*

‡1921 Ginsberg, M., *The psychology of society.*
An analysis of the "Great Society" in psychological terminology, mainly of the old instinctive school.

†1922 Freud, S., *Group psychology and the analysis of the ego.*
The original psychoanalyst indicates that for him all psychology is a type of social psychology. In this book Freud weaves the theories of Le Bon into his psychoanalytic doctrines.

‡1922 Williams, J. M., *Principles of social psychology.*
The author defines social psychology as a science of motives of peoples in social relations. He leans upon the old instinctive theory and endeavors to explain the conflict aspects of social life by resort to motives, interests, and attitudes, without realizing that he finds their origins in the very phenomena by which he explains them.

*1923 Gault, R. H., *Social psychology.*
For its time this text contained good summaries of experiments in the socio-psychological field. In many respects its viewpoint can be considered as a reaction to the philosophy of McDougall, then accepted.

*1924 Allport, F. H., *Social psychology.*
For a time the most read psychological text in the field of social psychology. It catered to those who wished to see the application of experimental method.

‡1924 Bernard, L. L., *Instinct: a study in social psychology.*
A vigorous denial of the idea that social behavior can be explained as an expression of biological determinants—instincts—and an effort to set up a behavioristic interpretation of social behavior.

‡1924 Bogardus, E. S., *Fundamentals of social psychology.*
An expansion of his earlier work with greater stress upon the training of the individual through social experience. Such sociological problems as the cultural

processes, termed diffusion, accommodation, and assimilation, and such "group" phenomena as fads and fashions, crowds, and mobs are considered in detail. Throughout, the "individual" remains in the background, the "group" in the foreground.

‡1925 Ellwood, C. A., *The psychology of human society*
An extension of his thesis that social psychology should be "psychological sociology." He claims for the book that it takes up the story of human life where Allport's text leaves off.

‡1925 Znaniecki, F., *The laws of social psychology*
An attempt to reduce to a few principles the complex phenomena of "group" behavior.

*1925 Dunlap, K., *Social psychology*
This book can perhaps best be described as an experimental psychologist's views on certain social problems. No attempt has been made to canvass the experimental literature.

†1926 Bernard, L. L., *An introduction to social psychology*
Using, with caution, behavioristic psychology, the author makes a detailed and rather technical analysis of the processes by which the individual acquires out of the social environment (the behavior patterns of the human beings surrounding him) his life adjustment techniques. Difficult to read, this book was perhaps the most penetrating analysis from the sociological approach since Cooley's *Human nature and the social order*.

*1927 Sprowls, J. W., *Social psychology interpreted*
A study and evaluation of the basic concepts advanced by social psychologists.

†1927 Young, K., *Source book for social psychology*
Materials drawn from many sources upon a wide variety of topics ranging from individual differences to public opinion.

‡*1928 Mukerjee, R., and N. N. Sen-Gupta, *Introduction to social psychology*
In this book an attempt is made to indicate how the mental life of a man is molded by the "group" environment. Although approaching from both the biological and psychological angles, it succeeds mainly in being a sociological treatment. Social organization is stressed.

*1929 Murchison, C., *Social psychology*
The subtitle—*The psychology of political domination*—suggests the contents of the book. It is not intended as an elementary text but rather as a treatise on subjects that have not been much affected by experimentation.

*1929 Ewer, B. C., *Social psychology*
An attempt to weave the ideas of McDougall and Allport into a unitary synthesis.

*1929 Kantor, J. R., *An outline of social psychology*
A behavioristic text with particular stress on the development of a theoretical position.

‡1930 Young, K., *Social psychology*
A critical synthesis of the concepts and materials presented in his *Source book for social psychology*. The field is considered as a study of the "contents" of human behavior, mainly derived from social experience.

*1930 Smith, J. J., *Social psychology*
A description largely in terms of "the sentiments" (which are supposedly associated with some of the most obvious of social relationships). Subtitled *The psychology of attraction and repulsion*.

‡1931 Folsom, J K, *Social psychology.*
A continuation of the Cooley thesis but with considerable stress upon motivational analysis Evidence is drawn from a wide range of sources to support the contention that individual behavior grows out of social experience

‡1931 Krueger, E T, and W. C. Reckless, *Social psychology*
An analysis, mainly in terms of W. I Thomas' "wishes," of the social behavior of the individual. It represents the then-current social psychology of the so-called Chicago school of sociologists

*1931 Murphy, G., and L. Murphy, *Experimental social psychology*
This large book (709 pages) stresses the experimental aspects of social psychology. Child study is given far greater attention in this than in most of the texts of this list. The book has little "plot" but is the best compendium in psychological literature of those experimental studies which have a more or less social slant

‡1932 Karpf, F B, *American social psychology*
A detailed and critical analysis of the basic concepts that have been advanced by social psychologists, both here and abroad, with consideration of their historical setting and the relation of each concept to the field as a whole

*1934 Dunlap, K, *Civilized life.*
This is essentially a revision of Dunlap's earlier text

†1934 Myerson, A, *Social psychology*
Two main theses are stressed by this neurologist: "The first is that the visceral-organic structure of man is basic to the understanding of psychology. . . The second thesis is that apart from his group a man is a mere potentiality He is developed in a milieu that fosters, modifies, or destroys his capacities"

‡1934 Brown, L. G, *Social psychology.*
This book is a "natural history of human nature." The illustrative material is derived from actual student experiences yet is presented in such a form as to indicate the essential unity of the behaving human being

*1935 Murchison, C, ed., *A handbook of social psychology*
This text, edited by a psychologist, contains eight chapters on the infrahuman, four on racial psychology, and one each on language, sex, age, magic, material culture, the physical environment, attitudes, social maladjustments, human populations, and the influence of social situations on the behavior of the child and of the adult.

*1936 Brown, J. F., *Psychology and the social order.*
A follower of the topologist, K Lewin, rewrites social psychology in terms of field theory. There are sections devoted to sociology, psychology, and political science.

*1936 Gurnee, H., *Elements of social psychology*
Following the thesis "Social psychology is, after all, *psychology*," Gurnee stresses the experimental aspects of the field

*1936 Freeman, E., *Social psychology.*
The stress throughout is on the side of social applications. An environmentalistic bias is acknowledged.

*1937 Murphy G., L. Murphy, and T. M. Newcomb, *Experimental social psychology.*
The 1931 edition has been rewritten with a broader definition of the word "experimental" in mind. Newcomb has major responsibility for an extensive section on attitudes.

*1938 Katz, D, and R L Schanck, *Social psychology*
An attempt to conceive of the entire field "within the bounds of the experimental tradition" The book reflects but goes beyond the theoretical framework of F H Allport's *Social psychology*.

‡1938 Reinhardt, J. M, *Social psychology*
The area treated is limited to "the individual personality and modes of adjustment which arise as a result of experience in the socio-cultural environment"

*1940 Bird, C, *Social psychology*
The aim of this book has been "not to assemble researches but rather to clarify, and if possible show the solutions for, social problems through the medium of research."

*1940 Klineberg, O, *Social psychology*
Particular emphasis is placed on attempted integration of ethnology, comparative sociology, and psychology

*1941 Britt, S H, *Social psychology of modern life.*
The author, who has long urged more cooperation between sociologists and psychologists, has aimed his book at both groups and at the lay public as well.

‡1942 Krout, M H, *Introduction to social psychology* This elementary text reverses recent trends in social psychology and attempts a "psychological" approach to what are usually considered sociological problems

The following list contains a number of references in English to thought-provoking articles and books that have appeared during the past decade.

"Textbooks in social psychology" (D Snedden, 1932)
"Experimental social psychology" (A S Edwards, 1932)
"Social psychology as an experimental science" (O A Oeser, 1932)
"Ejective consciousness as a fundamental factor in social psychology" (M. F Washburn, 1932)
"Recent trends in American social psychology" (H Cantril, 1933)
"Studies in the social psychology of science" (R Müller-Freienfels, 1933)
"The social psychology of everyday life" (H Cantril, 1934)
"Problems of social psychology" (S Dawson, 1934)
A manual of exercises and experiments in social psychology (W Dennis, 1934)
"The present status of social psychology in America" (K L Smoke, 1935).
"Field work in social psychology" (E J Lindgren, 1935)
"Pareto and experimental social psychology" (C. Murchison, 1935*b*)
"Social psychology a philosophical analysis" (A B Gibson, 1936).
"The place of aesthetics in social psychology" (H S Langfeld, 1936)
"What is social psychology?" (M L Lemmon, 1936)
The nature of human nature, and other essays in social psychology (E. Faris, 1937*a*).
"The role of individual psychological differences in social psychology" (C C Miles, 1937)
"Methods and assumptions of field work in social psychology" (O A Oeser, 1937)
"Past and present trends in the methods and subject matter of social psychology" (S H Britt, 1937)
Social psychology of education (A O. Bowden and I R Melbo, 1937)
"The need and opportunity for experiment in social psychology" (J F Dashiell, 1937)
"Introduction the Hanover round table—social psychology of 1936" (F. H Allport, 1937*b*)

"Administrative and professional vocations as fields for social psychology" (E S Robinson, 1937)
"German science of character" (C. Spearman, 1937)
"Some remarks on social psychology" (S E. Asch, 1939).
"The current situation in social psychology" (J R. Kantor, 1939).
"The research task of social psychology" (G. Murphy, 1939)
"The psychology of social culture" (H. W. Wright, 1939)
"Current research in social psychology" (H. B. Lewis, 1939)
Human nature writ large. a social psychologic survey and Western anthropology (F. Creedy, 1939)
"The image of the other man, a study in social psychology" (G Ichheiser, 1940).
"The problem of the concept in social psychology" (H. Blumer, 1940)
"Review of current social psychology" (S. H. Britt, 1940).
"On the data of social psychology" (S. Q Janus, 1940)
"The methodology of social psychology" (G. Y Rusk, 1941).
"Important developments in American social psychology during the past decade" (L. S. Cottrell, Jr, and R Gallagher, 1941).

A perusal of the articles and books listed below will give a picture of contemporary social psychology in the non-English-speaking world

"Zur Sozialpsychologie des Volkshochschulhorers" (L. Radermacher, 1932).
Elementares Lehrbuch der Sozialpsychologie (W. Hellpach, 1933).
"Der Gegenstand der Sozialpsychologie" (L. H A Geck, 1934).
"Wirkliche Sozialpsychologie" (W. Hellpach, 1935*b*)
"Psychologie des Gemeinschaftslebens" (F. Krueger, 1935)
Soziale Psychologie (C. A Mennicke, 1935)
Introducção á psychologia social (A. Ramos, 1936).
"Massenpsychologische Probleme in der Schulklasse" (E. Buxbaum, 1936).
Einfuhrung in die Volkerpsychologie (W. Hellpach, 1938).
"La psychologie sociale expérimentale" (W Drabovitch, 1938)
"Grundgedanken zur vergleichenden Volkerpsychologie" (A. Blau, 1938).
"Una nuova valutazione del comportamento sociale" (A Marzi, 1939)
Psicologia del comportamento sociale (A. Miotto, 1939).

Articles related to problems of social psychology appear occasionally in a number of the sociological and psychological (and, on rarer occasions, in educational and clinical) journals The following journals are devoted wholly or in large part to this field.

Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (founded in 1906).
Journal of Social Psychology (founded in 1929)
Character and Personality (founded in 1932)
The Public Opinion Quarterly (founded in 1937).
Sociometry (founded in 1937)

3. The majority of studies of family lines do not yield evidence at all pertinent to the nature-nurture controversy. It would appear that for many researchers in this field the problem is solved in their own minds before they begin their analyses of family lines; *i e*, they assume as true that which the subsequent analyses are expected to prove They fail to see that, with their techniques so crude and clumsy and the problem so intricate, little factual information bearing on the nature-nurture controversy can possibly emerge. When a researcher has, for

example, calculated the number of musicians in each generation of the Bach family, he has offered no data to show why the Bachs were musical at one period and not another Was the subsequent disappearance of musicality in the Bach family the resultant of "wrong" matings, a change in the economic status of musicians, of both factors, or of neither? Family studies do not give the answer The mere fact that distributions of musical and nonmusical personages may vaguely resemble the geneticists' distributions of black and vestigial fruit flies has little or no explanatory value

4. The fact that folklore and fable contain many references to feral man suggests that feral man has long intrigued the layman as well as the theorist A recent wave of interest has led to articles on a "baboon boy" from South Africa and a book that describes two "wolf girls" from India. The existence of the "baboon boy" has already been denied even by its American advocate (J P Foley, Jr, 1940*a* and 1940*b*) But the existence of the "wolf girls" is still accepted by at least one child specialist, who has written a popular and extremely naive book on the subject (A. Gesell, 1941) Reviews of this book make it quite clear that others are more skeptical of the evidence The inconsistencies in the reports on these Hindu girls are enormous Moreover, no scientist was able to examine the girls while they were still alive The scientific world was kept for years in ignorance of their very existence—because their discoverer and protector, a missionary, did not wish to lessen their matrimonial possibilities! For other articles on the subject of feral man see "Jungle children" (G M Stratton, 1934*c*); "Feral man and extreme cases of isolation" (R M. Zingg, 1940); "The significance of feral man" (W Dennis, 1941), and "A reply to Professor Dennis" (R M Zingg, 1941). Of the several scientists interested in Hindu "wolf girls" Zingg is one of the few who are still hopeful of their authenticity

Although there are no authentic cases of feral man, there are cases of children who have been reared by foster parents who are brighter or duller than their own parents During this century a considerable number of foster-children studies have been undertaken. The better controlled of these experiments agree with one another As one reviewer phrases their findings: "When children of *school age* are given one of the more modern revisions of the Binet Scale, such as the Stanford or the Kuhlmann revision, under standard conditions and by competent examiners, most of the intelligence quotients thus earned will show only small fluctuations upon retesting with the same scale after intervals varying from 1 to 6 or 7 years Considering all the evidence, it is safe to say that 50 per cent of the elementary-school children will not change their standing by more than 5 points of IQ in either direction, while the remaining 50% will show somewhat greater variation" (F Goodenough, 1940, p. 357)

It should be possible, theoretically at least, to disentangle the interwoven strands of nature and nurture by holding one constant and varying the other. Thus, we might equate environments and vary heredities, or vice versa. But the first of these is not the easy task it might seem to be. For by what procedure can we prove that the environments that have surrounded two people from birth have been identical? Those measures of environment that are available—tests of socioeconomic status*—yield rough approximations only. The environmental

* For a review and extension of the works on socioeconomic status see *The measurement of urban home environment* (A. Leahy, 1936) See also "The measurement of socioeconomic status" (G. A Lundberg, 1940) and "Measurement of social status" (L. D Zeleny, 1940)

stimuli that have impinged upon a person during his lifetime are so many that they are beyond all present possibility of calculation. Certain of these stimuli greatly affect the human animal, whereas others affect him relatively little But the weights that should be assigned to these stimuli and their relative values as behavior modifiers can still only be guessed at. And since we cannot evaluate with any degree of assurance the environmental forces that surround any one person, we cannot hope to learn with exactitude whether or not they are the equivalent of the stimuli that have made up the environment of another human being.

Equating heredities and varying environments is almost as difficult. Blood relatives resemble each other in intelligence and personality more than do people selected at random from the population at large. The former are more alike in genetic structure than are the latter unrelated groups. Similarity in heredity, however, tends to be paralleled by similarity in environment. Thus, by and large, relatives tend to have been subjected to more of the same sorts of environmental pressures than have nonrelated people The only persons with presumably identical heredities are pairs of identical twins. Yet, unfortunately, these exceptional folk when reared together tend to have the most similar environments of all mankind (P T. Wilson, 1934).

To circumvent this difficulty, a number of studies have been made of identical twins reared apart (H. H. Newman, F N. Freeman, and K. J. Holzinger, 1937, and I C. Gardner and H. H. Newman, 1940). So far only about a score of pairs have been located, and many of these have unfortunately had quite similar environments. The resemblances in intelligence between identical twins reared apart seem to be intermediate between those of fraternal twins and of identical twins reared together (Q McNemar, 1938). For further references on the nature-nurture issue see the many articles of *The 39th yearbook of the national society for the study of education* (G. M. Whipple, ed., 1940) and "Heredity and environment: a critical survey of recently published material on twins and foster children" (R. S. Woodworth, 1941)

5 Unfortunately the relative strengths of human drives cannot be measured like those of animal drives If one desires to test an animal that has been deprived for some time of both food and water, one can place it in a box surrounded by an electric grill. To the right of the grill will be placed food and to the left water. The number of the grill contacts and crossings (during which the animal is electrically shocked) will furnish a rough measure of the relative strength of each drive, or so believe certain of the animal psychologists (C J. Warden, 1931). A number of other laboratory devices are also at hand for measuring animal drives. See "A comparative study of sexual drive in adult male rats as measured by direct copulatory tests and by the Columbia obstruction apparatus" (C. P. Stone *et al.*, 1935)

6. Adler has rejected the Freudian assertion that "psychical" processes derive all their energy from sex and has attributed all such processes to attempts to compensate for some sort of physical, social, or moral inferiority. Thus, says Adler, the musician enters the field of music because he is stimulated by a defective auditory equipment; the artist enters his profession spurred on by color weakness; the behavior of the cripple is aimed at attention getting as a compensation for his defect But research has not shown musical students to be defective along auditory lines (P. R Farnsworth, 1941*a*) or artistic children to be color weak (S Atwell, 1939) And although the personalities of some cripples are abnormal because of their unfortunate condition (B B. Rosenbaum, 1937), many cripples show little personality distortion that is attributable to their deformities (R. C.

Kammerer, 1940) Adler has been a little too eager to prove his case by citing instances that seemed to him to fit his theory—a deaf musician, an orator who stammered at one time, a professional strong man who has been a consumptive, etc No one doubts that a defect may spur a given individual to action. But that all spurs to action occur as compensations for defects of some sort, only Adlerians believe (A Adler, 1917) Dollard has made the interesting observation that the Adlerian principle of overcompensation for felt inferiorities is peculiarly bound to our own competitive culture. Since it functions far less among other groups, it cannot be considered a general principle for social psychology (J. Dollard, 1935)

7. From physical chemistry has come the term "sublimation," a much used concept in psychoanalysis Except on rare occasions, says Freud, one's biological drives cannot be expressed in crude form, since they conflict with the social patterns So they become sublimated, expressed in a new line of activity that is regarded by the social group as being on a more acceptable level A blocked sex impulse reappears in artistic creation, in managerial ability, or in world domination The proofs for these contentions supposedly lie in the freely associated material brought to consciousness through the procedure of psychoanalysis But, as a matter of fact, the so-called "free associations" of the patient are actually rigorously controlled and directed by the analyst The latter, who of course was himself psychoanalyzed (converted to the ism) some time before, suppresses and dismisses those associations that are not useful to his theory and waxes enthusiastic over all that have to do with sex (C Landis, 1940 and 1941) The proof, then, becomes little more than the announcing of a theory for art* or some other activity that was already present in the mind of the analyst The analyst obviously received it from his father confessor, who in turn obtained it directly or indirectly from Freud. The concept of sublimation is, therefore, a dogma that is taken on faith by all good Freudians but is of little value to the social psychologist

The psychoanalytic mechanism of sublimation holds that adult motives are reducible to biological urges (often sexual or eliminative) and that the motive power for adult activity is the energy of the urge that is now expressed in disguised form In opposition to this view is one known as the functional autonomy of motives Gordon Allport,† its most convincing proponent, regards adult motives as "infinitely varied, and as self-sustaining, *contemporary* systems, growing out of antecedent systems, but functionally independent of them . . Theoretically all adult purposes can be traced back to these seed-forms in infancy But as the individual matures the bond is broken The tie is historical, not functional." (G W. Allport, 1937, p 194)

To clarify the implications of these two views, let us contrast the manner in which each would "explain" the peculiarities of the miser. Certain psychoanalysts would trace the miser's dominant motivation and that of his polar opposite, the spendthrift, to an abnormality of bowel control in early infancy But one who holds to the functional autonomy of motives, although admitting that all adult motives are built on earlier ones, would institute clinical studies to find the

* Some art does of course have a sex motivation. See "Double meaning in the popular Negro blues" (G B. Johnson, 1927)

† His doctrine has recently been attacked by a follower of McDougall (P A Bertocci, 1940) For Allport's answer see "Motivation in personality reply to Mr Bertocci" (G W Allport, 1940).

pertinent factors responsible for these peculiarities of monetary behavior. A number of such clinical studies have been made. They all agree in showing that miserly* and spendthrift behaviors are associated with a large number of environmental variables, bowel difficulty in infancy being only one of the many.

The doctrine of sublimation is a reflection of a particularizing tendency seen especially among practical people—and psychoanalysts are practical therapists, not scientists. Man is forever on the lookout for a single or type explanation for every happening he cannot immediately understand; it is therefore disturbing to find that two superficially (phenotypically) similar behaviors can be "caused" by quite dissimilar events. But whether we want to or not, we are forced to accept the fact that the bases of social motivation are many and varied.

8. At least three other phenomena in addition to "feeling states" are designated by the term "emotion."† Some writers use the term "emotion" to refer to covert responses, to any considerable change in the metabolic condition that lasts but a short time. These responses may or may not be perceived by their possessor. Others use the term to refer to the rather immediate and relatively untutored overt activity that accompanies the visceral disturbances, although this activity more commonly receives the title "natural expression of emotion." These expressions differ so markedly from person to person even under rather similar conditions that only a few patternlike forms can be seen (R. C. Davis, 1934; and N. L. Munn, 1940). An exception occurs in the case of the startle responses, which have a rather uniform pattern.‡ The term "emotion" is also used to refer to the staged or stereotyped expressions that serve as symbols but differ from society to society (see Chap. V).

9. In recent years psychologists, particularly Gesell of Yale and his students, have attempted to study maturational factors by the aid of an ingenious technique known as co-twin control (A. Gesell and H. Thompson, 1941). One member of a pair of young identical twins is made the experimental subject, and his pair-mate the control. While the former is being subjected to a specific training regime, the latter is receiving no special training. The time needed for the experimental subject to learn the task is noted. At a later date the control subject is put through a similar training regime, and the time necessary to learn the task is recorded. If this older child needs a shorter training period than did his twin, the timesaving

* One miserly person recently studied was found to be overcompensating for a background of "proud" poverty. Although the importance of money had been continually played down in his family, the need for it had been painfully clear to him. By the time money did begin to "roll in," his habits of extremely frugal living had become well established. He could spend his fortune in reverie only, he lived to accumulate wealth which he frankly admitted he could not force himself to spend. Incidentally, the records obtained from his mother showed that no eliminative difficulty had occurred during infancy.

† For references on the feelings and the emotions see *The psychology of pleasantness and unpleasantness* (J. G. Beebe-Center, 1932); *Emotions and bodily changes, etc.* (H. F. Dunbar, 1935); "Recent developments in the field of emotion" (W. A. Hunt, 1941); *Emotions: their psychological, physiological and educative implications* (F. H. Lund, 1939); and *Psychology of feeling and emotion* (C. A. Ruckmick, 1936).

‡ The "natural expressions" of startle are described in *The startle pattern* (C. Landis and W. A. Hunt, 1939).

will undoubtedly be due in part to greater maturation. In any such experiment, however, there are probably many other factors, such as motivational and personality differences caused by the earlier training of one of the twins and incidental training, a carry-over from somewhat similar types of behavior Thus the control twin may develop inferiority feelings because he is kept from learning to perform the tricks his experimental twin can do. Or he may transfer some of his incidental earlier training to the new problem In one of the earlier maturational studies the experimental twin was taught to climb stairs But the researcher could not keep the control twin from climbing on boxes, stools, and the like, all of which aid ability to climb stairs. For crude, demonstrational purposes the co-twin technique is, however, useful

Other titles on maturation can be found in "Learning I The factor of maturation" (C P. Stone, 1934) See also *Developmental diagnosis* (A Gesell and C S Amatruda, 1941)

10 As is true of so many issues, whether or not there are animal societies depends in great degree on the definitions used If one is interested in stressing continuity in human and animal worlds, a definition of "society" must be proposed that will embrace at the very least the social activities of the apes and the social insects But if, on the other hand, one is desirous of playing up the hiatus between man and the subhuman animals another sort of definition is necessary

In *The emergence of human culture* Warden has contended that only man can be said to possess a genuine society. To support this conclusion he has proposed as criteria for society. (*a*) invention, (*b*) communication, and (*c*) social habituation—acquired social organization (C J Warden, 1936) There are, of course, instances of animal behaviors that meet each of these criteria to some slight degree But the completeness of man's social organization is missing For another attempt to discover what human implications are derivable from animal organizations, see *The social life of animals* (W. C Allee, 1938)

11 Failure to distinguish conceptually between the natural (biological and physical) forces that act as limitations upon man as a social being and the social heritage that makes him social has led many social scientists into the pessimism of a cul-de-sac *Civilization and climate* (E Huntington, 1915) and *The biology of population growth* (R Pearl, 1925) are noteworthy examples of this failure and the fatalistic viewpoint to which it leads In these books man is seen as the helpless victim of inexorable natural forces—of climate and of a "nature-determined" birth rate, respectively The distinction in function between social and biological factors is set forth in "The nature of human nature" (E Faris, 1926*b*) and "The relation of biology and sociology" (E B Reuter, 1927*b*). Herrick, a biologist, critically examines the idea that biological factors determine the character of social life in *Fatalism or freedom* (C J Herrick, 1927)

Because their own society is a rapidly changing one, contemporary sociologists have concentrated upon the phenomena of change and have endeavored to discover the process or sequences by which social changes have come about The survey reported in *Recent social trends in the United States* (President's Research Committee on Social Trends, 1933) was an effort to find where we are going socially by analyzing historically how we have arrived where we are.

The following are notable efforts to discern a basic pattern, or a number of basic processes, in the changing character of the social heritage under which we live: *Social change with respect to culture and original nature* (W F Ogburn, 1922); *Cultural evolution* (C A Ellwood, 1927); *An introduction to the science of sociology*

(R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, 1924), *Cultural change* (F S Chapin, 1928); *Social process and human progress* (C M Case, 1931), and *The technique of social progress* (H Hart, 1931)

12. One aspect of status that has recently been studied is that of occupational prestige Some occupations are considered as more honorable, more admirable, and more worthy of prestige than others; but no universal agreement as to the proper rankings exists Laymen in the U.S.S.R. regard the businessman and the priest as less worthy than we do in America (J Davis, 1927). All good democrats give the military man less prestige during peacetime than during periods of active warfare.

Examining a minuscule aspect of the problem of status, Coutu tested in 1934–1935 the professed attitudes of three groups of college students law, medical, and engineering—toward twenty white-collar occupations Each student group gave its own prospective occupation the highest rating Because medicine received second place in the ratings of the two nonmedical groups, it achieved top position in the combined ratings The engineers bunched their ratings together, even their lowest occupation received many prestige votes The medical students, on the other hand, so spread their ratings that the position of college professor, which came third on their scale, had a prestige score similar to that received by osteopathy, which ranked at the bottom of the engineering scale No other occupation was considered by the medical students as at all close to medicine in occupational prestige If such an attitude is common among physicians, it may account in part for their traditional hostility toward socialized medicine It is likely that any change in the management of medical affairs would lower the prestige attached to medicine (W. Coutu, 1936). See also "Social distance between occupations" (F. Wilkinson, 1929); "The relative social prestige of representative medical specialties" (G W. Hartmann, 1936a); "Social prestige values of a selected group of occupations" (C W Hall, 1938); "The attitudes of college women toward women's vocations" (R B. Stevens, 1940); and "Analysis of a prestige frame of reference by a gradient technique" (C E Osgood and R. Stagner, 1941).

Status has been termed the "pseudo quality" of a man's personality; the impression he makes on others, the "sham quality"; and the inherent core of his personality, the "real quality" (G Ichheiser, 1941).

13. Failure to realize that the term "society" symbolizes an abstraction derived from very real phenomena has frequently resulted either in implied denial of society's existence or mystical interpretations of its character. The former error is in part responsible for the uncritical material given in many of the popular biological treatises. Biological speculations to the contrary notwithstanding, man does not behave in a social order as he would on Robinson Crusoe's island. The second error has been more serious European scholars in particular have been guilty of conceiving of society as if it were a definite entity Stripped of their impressive terminology, all such concepts are revealed as comparable to Hitler's "Germanic Spirit." Kant (I. Kant, 1929) and more particularly Hegel (G. S. Morris, 1892) set the pattern for this type of metaphysical thinking. To Hegel the state was an embodiment of the society's "soul." Wundt's elaborate analysis of "folk psychology" (W Wundt, 1916) implied a somewhat similar concept From a different approach McDougall in *The group mind* (W McDougall, 1920) has been thought by some students to arrive at a similar concept of society.

Use of the "organic analogy" in conveying the idea that men do not behave irrespective of the behavior of their fellows has frequently led to the unwarranted

assumption that sociologists accept as valid the above-mentioned mystical interpretations Although one English sociologist leaned toward it (L T Hobhouse, 1911), few American sociologists have followed the Hegelian tradition.

The organic analogy is a comparison of some of the processes of human interrelations with those of an organism, generally the human body Spencer made great use of this analogy (H Spencer, 1893–1897), and Cooley a cautious use Certainly there is much to commend it as a communicative device We may compare the unity of society with the unity of the human organism The way in which events that transpire on the stock exchange in New York are communicated to San Francisco, there to affect the behavior of men, may be likened to the way a man's feet may respond to visual stimuli from an onrushing motorcar The complex social phenomena that result from communication between human beings can be compared to the coordination of body movement and processes through neural communication A similar comparison may be made between the transportation of goods and persons within society by railroad, motorcar, and steamship and of tissue food supplies and wastes within the organism by the blood stream The analogy is especially fruitful in conveying ideas of how intimately the parts of the social pattern are related and of how the individual's welfare is bound up with the total It is true of society, as it is of the human body, that to take it apart destroys the essential and distinctive attributes of the entity—that which in the human body we term life Just as we do not necessarily have a living organism merely because we have ten fingers, ten toes, two legs, two arms, one head, and one torso, we do not have a society simply because we have twenty men If we are to have a society, the men, like the parts of the organism, must be interrelated Furthermore, just as the hand cannot live if the body dies, the individuals may not survive if the society actually disintegrates

But the organic analogy, like all analogies, is in danger of being taken too literally. Traditionally it has been assumed that the human organism possesses, during life, a superorganic entity called the "soul," which is presumed to be the embodiment of the life "stuff" and the director of life activities Those who speak and write as though society were an entity, rather than an abstraction from entities, carry the analogy to its illogical conclusion There is, we now believe, no need of transcending the mundane and entering into mysticism to explain social phenomena The psychologist no longer bothers about the human soul but leaves this problem to the theologian The sociologist is likewise not concerned with the "soul of society " See *Social organization* (C H Cooley, 1923, Chaps I, II, and XXXIV)

14. It is common observation that changes within the body tend to accompany sudden and striking alterations of the environment outside the body Under certain conditions of environmental change it often happens that an individual's blood vessels dilate or constrict, that swallowing becomes difficult, that feelings of suffocation exist, and that fainting with its attendant redistribution of blood occurs. So it is no wonder that from the earliest days of the scientific era, and even before, men have tried to measure these visceral changes and to see social significance in them Instruments have been constructed for the measurement of blood pressure, blood volume, rate of heartbeat, body temperature, metabolic level, blood quality, skin resistance to slight electric currents, acidity of body fluids, ratio of the length of expiration to the length of inspiration, the character of the electric currents generated by the muscles and nerves, and a number of other body conditions.

The research so far undertaken shows that the relation between change of opinion and the several measurable aspects of body condition is slight. A fairly consistent, though small, relationship does, however, exist between conflict and frustration on the one hand and body state on the other; *i e*, conflict situations are mirrored slightly in covert changes. Presumably the frustrating circumstances bring about emotional upsets, the visceral aspects of which can be measured But no other relationships have been so far discovered. See "A study of the autonomic excitation resulting from the interaction of individual opinion and group opinion" (C. E. Smith, 1936), "The measurement of emotions aroused in response to personality test items" (G. S. Speer, 1937); "The measuring of attitudes toward war and the galvanic skin reflex" (S N F. Chant and M D. Salter, 1937); and "Some physiological changes during frustration" (H. Jost, 1941)

It is possible that overt habits may be paralleled in some covert manner McDougall felt so certain that such was the case that he postulated a chemical unknown to account for the extremely seclusive, nonsocial, and shut-in type of personality deviation which is known popularly as the introverted temperament (W. McDougall, 1929). Subsequent experiments, however, have been unable to show that introverts, no matter how defined, are substantially different from extroverts, their polar opposites, in any measurable physiological characteristic. Nor can any other personality deviants of the milder sorts be singled out with any facility on the basis of unusual bodily condition. See *The physiological psychology of introverts and extroverts* (L. P. Herrington, 1930); "Some relationships between personality and body chemistry" (G. J. Rich, 1933); "The inter-relations of certain physiological measurements and aspects of personality" (K T. Omwake, E S. Dexter, and L W. Lewis, 1934), "The biochemical variability of the individual in relation to personality and intelligence" (H. Goldstein, 1935); "An experimental study of personality, physique, and the acid-base equilibrium of the blood" (J A Hamilton and N. W. Shock, 1936); and "The patellar reflex and personality" (J. P. Guilford and R. C. Hall, 1937).

From time to time there has been considerable hope that the study of brain potentials (free electrical currents) would yield information of use in ascertaining personality deviants. But so far, except with epileptics (W. G. Walter, 1939), there has been little success. See "The relationship between brain potentials and personality" (A B Gottlober, 1938); "A note on the relationship between 'personality' and the alpha rhythm of the electroencephalogram" (C E Henry and J. R. Knott, 1941); and "Electrical activity of the brain" (H H. Jasper, 1941)

The effects of sex hormones on adolescent interests and attitudes constitute at present a promising field of research. Boys of high hormone activity show more interest in heterosexual activity, personal adornment, and strenuous competitive sports than do adolescents of low hormone activity (R. T Sollenberger, 1940) For the effects on overt behavior of glandular malfunctioning, see "Endocrine function and personality" (D J. Ingle, 1935) and "Pituitary disturbances in relation to personality" (L. A. Lurie, 1938).

15. Some years ago J. B Watson so oversold his extreme behavioristic views that all behaviorism was identified in the popular mind with Watsonism, and all students of human behavior were thought to preach the same incomplete psychology Many a person outside the field of professional psychology believed that pyschologists dealt only with overt activities But nothing was farther from the truth Covert activity was explicitly recognized, even by the majority of behaviorists: and the delayed reaction was much studied Present-day psychologists also include covert activities in their theoretical systems.

Hull, a modern behaviorist who is interested in symbolic logic, has a number of covert parts to his system. The "excitatory potential" and the "stimulus trace" are typical. Hull's statement on the "stimulus trace" can be taken as illustrative: "The concept *stimulus trace* has substantially the status of a symbolic or logical construct While there are physiological indications that the expression represents an entity which may ultimately be observable in some indirect manner, for the present purposes it may be regarded as unobservable." (C Hull *et al*, 1940, p 23)

Tolman, who occupies a mid-position between behaviorism and Gestalt psychology, discusses covert behaviors under the name "behavior determinants" These are "the intervening variables to be conceived as functioning between the initiating (independent) causes of behavior on the one side of the equation, and the final resulting behavior on the other side of the equation" (E C. Tolman, 1932, p 438).

The original topological psychologist, Lewin, also has a classification of behavior which approximates that of the overt-covert According to Lewin, an individual has an outer region, motor and perceptual (speech and gestures occur here), and an inner core, the inner-personal regions "Needs or other states of the inner-personal regions can influence the environment only by way of a bodily action, that is, by way of a region which one can call the motor region" (K. Lewin, 1936, p. 177)

16 Direct study of many of our most important nonsymbolic behaviors, such as war activities and interracial responses, is difficult if not impossible War behaviors cannot be brought into the laboratory for analysis And even an ever-present companion could gather but scanty data on a person's reactions toward the members of some particular race The social psychologist can only measure opinions concerning future war behaviors (A E Traxler, 1935, C T Pihlblad, 1936; and J Zubin and M Gristle, 1937), in the hope that these symbolic opinions will reflect the more important later nonsymbolic activities Similarly he tests opinions on the several national and culture groups (G E Bryant, 1941), in the hope that through these he can forecast what will happen in later interracial contacts Measures are sometimes made of opinions that have no nonsymbolic parallels Thus, a subject may be asked his opinion about the nature of the Deity or about the possibility of experiencing the Divine Presence (R D Sinclair, 1928)

Opinions are sometimes measured by ratings (E Monjar, 1937), by rankings (S E Asch, H Block, and M Hertzman, 1938) or by comparisons Thus to measure student opinion regarding the efficiency of the men who have served as President of the United States, one might have the students rank the names of these men from best to worst, rate them on a five-point scale from excellent through good, average, and poor to very poor; or compare each name with every other name The last-mentioned procedure, that of paired comparisons,* would be too time consuming for use in a study involving all the presidents It has, however, been used in a study involving ten presidents (L. W Ferguson, 1936). These three simple techniques for measuring opinions all yield essentially similar data

Opinions have also been measured by the autobiographical method (S A. Stouffer, 1930), the interview method (R T LaPiere, 1928, B. J Breslaw, 1938; R. C Oldfield, 1941; W V. D Bingham and B. V Moore, 1941; and L. W Doob, 1941), and the questionnaire method (E E. Ghiselli, 1939). If the phrase

* If N is taken as the number of items to be compared, the number of comparisons will equal $N(N - 1) \div 2$.

"Japanese Exclusion Act" is presented to a member of the Japanese race and he is allowed to check one of the possibilities of response—insult, unfortunate, necessary, desirable, doesn't go far enough, etc a rather good measure of his opinion of the act will be obtained (G B. Watson, 1920*b*). Conservatism in opinions has been tested by tabulating agreements to statements—such as "In teaching the vital problems of citizenship, teachers should so impress on the students the approved opinions in these matters that life's later experiences can never unsettle or modify the opinions given" (M. H. Harper, 1927). See also, the following references: "Radicalism-conservatism in student attitudes" (E. Nelson, 1938); "Responses of a group of gifted children to the Pressey interest-attitude test" (R. L. Thorndike, 1939); and "Children's thinking about nations and races" (H Meltzer, 1941*a*)

The opinion-scale method is not markedly different from that of the questionnaire The former usually contains fewer questions, and, unlike those of the questionnaire, the question items have agreed-upon values The early Bogardus test of "social distance," for example, was a questionnaire of only seven questions, each having an arbitrary weight (E S Bogardus, 1928) The person whose opinion was desired was presented with a list of races on which he was to indicate, by checking one or more of the seven questions, his willingness to associate with the members of each of the races listed In this manner social distance was supposedly measured. It was assumed that admission of the members of a particular race "to my club as personal chums" has a social-distance value equidistant between that of "admission to close kinship by marriage" and that of "admission to my street as neighbors" It was similarly assumed that the scale value of the last-mentioned item fell exactly between that of the "club" item and that of "admission to employment in my occupation in my country," etc , and thus, if the "club" item were given an opinion weight of 2, the "kinship" item would deserve a weight of 1, the "street" item a weight of 3, and the "occupation" item a weight of 4. The assumption that the scale steps should be values of 1, 2, 3, and 4 is not, however, a proof that these are fitting weights * The Thurstone scheme of "attitude" measurement (L L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, 1929), with its provision for less arbitrary opinion weights, has met with a warmer reception from measurement-minded social psychologists

In the construction of a war scale fashioned after the Thurstone pattern,† first, comes the collection of a large number of statements (items) about war These are then rated by a sizable group of intelligent, but not necessarily unbiased, judges (L. W. Ferguson, 1935; and R Pintner and G. Forlano, 1937*a*). The rating table is divided into 11 sections, number 1 for the most pacifistic opinions, and number 11 for the most militaristic The judges sort the war items into these sections. Those items which are consistently sorted, *i e*, which have similar meanings to all judges, are kept. The median of each item's sortings becomes its

* For a revised edition of the social-distance scale constructed by a modern system of weights, see "A social distance scale" (E S Bogardus, 1933) For a check on the validity of the social-distance technique see "Checking the social distance technique through personal interviews" (G Hendrickson and R. Zeligs, 1934). See also "A social distance test in the Near East" (S. C. Dodd, 1935).

† In the psychological literature the Thurstone scales have in the past been usually referred to as attitude scales. The term "opinion," favored by the sociologists, is, however, now gaining general acceptance.

scale or opinion value If the value is large, the item has a militaristic value, if small, a pacifistic one Thus the statement "There can be no progress without war" is militaristic in sentiment and has a scale value of 10 8 (1941 Stanford norms). Near the pacifistic end of the continuum is the statement "The evils of war are greater than any possible benefits" with a value of 1 5 A neutral statement is "Defensive war is justified but other wars are not" (scale value 6 4) The statements are now ready to be offered to the individual whose opinions are to be tested If he agrees with statements whose adjudged scale values are large, he is a militarist; if he checks items with small values, he is a pacifist

There are now available commercial scales for measuring opinions on communism, patriotism, the United States Constitution, law, censorship, reality of God, treatment of animals, evolution, birth control, and capital punishment, on affection-aversion for parents (R Stagner and N Drought, 1935), on the Dies Committee (A H Howard and J C Eberhart, 1940), etc

Modifications of the Thurstone technique have been proposed by a number of opinion testers (R H Seashore and K Hevner, 1933, C Kirkpatrick, 1936*b*; and M Ballin and P R Farnsworth, 1941). Generalized or master scales, which can be applied to any one of a given class of objects or values, have been developed with somewhat questionable success (H H. Remmers and E B Silance, 1934; D M Thomas-Baines, 1936, and M Dimmitt, 1936) In certain of the newer opinion tests statements of opinion like the illustrations given above have been replaced by descriptions of behavior situations—such as, "If my continent were invaded I would immediately take up arms" (A C Rosander, 1937, E G Williamson and J G Darley, 1937, C R Pace, 1939, 1940, F H Allport and G A. Hanchett, 1940; and D D Day and O F. Quackenbush, 1940) A simple five-point rating scheme, proposed by Likert (G. Murphy and R Likert, 1938, and D C Miller, 1940), has the reputation of being as useful a tool as the more time-consuming Thurstone procedure This position, however, has been disputed (L. W Ferguson, 1941)

Groups of opinion scales have been factor-analyzed in an attempt to purify the tests and to find smaller batteries with which to replace the large ones now in use (H B Carlson, 1934) In one such study, ten opinion scales were reduced to two or three by the procedure of factor analysis (L. W Ferguson, 1939*a*) In another, thirteen opinion and adjustment scales were reduced to five (J G Darley and W J McNamara, 1940). In other studies, the attitudes of parents and children have been compared, the greatest resemblance in attitudes is found between the spouses, and the smallest between father and children (T. D Peterson, 1936, T Newcomb and G Svehla, 1937, M M Smith, 1938; and H H. Remmers and L D Whisler, 1938) The opinions of one sample of close friends were found to correlate 24 ± 07 (C N Winslow, 1937)

Opinion studies on college students and on the several economic, social, and age strata are numerous Typical are the following: "Attitudes of economic groups" (A W. Kornhauser, 1938), "The Thurstone attitude scales II The reliability and consistency of younger and older intellectual peers" (I Lorge, 1939); "Liberalism, optimism, and group morale a study of student attitudes" (L D Whisler and H. H Remmers, 1938); "Certain factors related to liberal and conservative attitudes of college students parental membership in certain organizations" (P J Fay and W C Middleton, 1940*d*); "An analysis of attitudes toward fascism and communism" (D Katz and H Cantril, 1940); "Attitude homogeneity and length of group association" (M Smith, 1940), and "A comparison of the

public attitudes of 711 eminent business executives with those of 65 distinguished 'progressive' educators" (G. W. Hartmann, 1941*a*).

Opinion scales, particularly those of the Thurstone variety, have been much employed in measuring opinion shifts. In the main, the data agree with common-sense observation. Opinions can be altered, at least for the period of a year, by reading and study, by hearing lectures and debates, by viewing movies, and through field trips to institutions (B. M. Cherrington and L. W. Miller, 1933; S. P. Rosenthal, 1934; W. J. Boldt and J. B. Stroud, 1934; W. K. C. Chen, 1936; F. H. Knower, 1935 and 1936; R. M. Bateman and H. H. Remmers, 1936; L. A. Kirkendall, 1937; M. Smith, 1937; V. Jones, 1938; R. Bugelski and O. P. Lester, 1940; L. W. Doob, 1940; L. J. Epstein, 1941; H. M. Mason, 1941; and S. H. Britt and S. C. Menefee, 1941).

But just what these changes in symbolic behavior mean when they are translated into nonsymbolic terms is not known. Do the symbolic tests provide a measure of the preparation to respond to the concrete situations that are symbolized in the tests? Apparently in a few instances they do. But in the majority of instances proof is impossible to obtain, and in some instances they definitely do not. It has, for example, been shown that the child's verbal attitude toward honest or dishonest behavior (his symbolic opinion) is of little or no value in forecasting what he will do when he is put up against a real classroom experience in which dishonest behavior is a possible solution to his difficulties (S. M. Corey, 1937*b*). From consideration of the data one is led to suspect that opinion tests actually measure ideologies far more successfully than they forecast nonsymbolic behaviors (R. T. LaPiere, 1938*b*). Criticisms of opinion testing and reviews of the current articles in the field have been appearing periodically (G. W. Allport and R. L. Schanck, 1936; S. M. Corey, 1937*a*; D. Katz, 1937; L. W. Ferguson, 1939*b*; E. Nelson, 1939; H. S. Tuttle, 1940; D. Day, 1940; H. W. Dunham, 1940; R. K. Merton, 1940; and D. D. Day, 1941).

The term "interest" has been applied to certain other forms of symbolic activity, particularly those in which a selection between two or more alternatives is to be made. The most extensive work on the subject centers in the laboratory of E. K. Strong, Jr., who has developed the Vocational Interest Blank (E. K. Strong, Jr., 1931, 1933, and 1934*a*; H. D. Carter, M. K. Pyles, and E. P. Bretnall, 1935; J. S. Kopas, 1938; S. G. Estes and D. Horn, 1939; D. E. Super, 1940; and R. K. Campbell, 1941). See also *The interests of young men* (D. E. Sonquist, 1931); *The psychology of wants, interests, and attitudes* (E. L. Thorndike, 1935); "Liking and disliking persons" (W. F. Thomas and P. T. Young, 1938); "The place of interests in vocational adjustment" (J. G. W. Davies, 1939); "Economic problems and interests of adolescents" (P. M. Symonds, 1940); and *Interest inventory for elementary grades (for grades 4, 5, and 6): Form A* (M. Dreese and E. Mooney, 1941).

17. The term "symbolic" as used in the text must not be confused with that of "symbolism" as used by either sociologists or psychoanalysts. (See E. Sapir's article "Symbolism," *Encycl. Soc. Sci.*, 14, 492–495.) Sociologists and anthropologists often use the term "symbolism" to refer to social practices that have lost much of their original significance and remain only as symbolic of their former meaning (J. H. Mueller, 1938). Thus the American Thanksgiving Day is sociologically symbolic of the great harvest feast and thanksgiving which was practiced, with religious significance, by certain of the American Indians. Sociopsychologically, however, Thanksgiving Day practices are not all symbolic. Whereas the speeches and editorials broadcast on this day are symbolic behavior, much of

the action that transpires is nonsymbolic It is doubtful, for example, whether the vast quantities of food consumed on this occasion now have much symbolic meaning for the eaters, although to the early Indians there may have been a symbolic aspect

In the justification of some of their practices and theories the psychoanalysts have resorted to a "symbolic" interpretation of dreams and other psychic phenomena It is assumed that, because of the psychic "censor," taboo drives are converted into symbolic manifestations which can then escape from the "unconscious." Thus a phobia for steam engines might be interpreted as a morbid "fear of father," the engine being symbolic of father For purposes of psychotherapy such reasoning may have its values But the psychoanalytic concept of symbolization has very little in common with the sociopsychological distinction between symbolic and nonsymbolic behavior

18 A most interesting "tentative classification of expressive movement" is presented in *Studies in expressive movement* (G W Allport and P E Vernon, 1933, pp 32–33) Although the list is far too long to present here, one small section is offered (By permission of the authors and The Macmillan Company, publishers)

"Communication and *Mimik*

A Talking

1 Attributes of voice
   soft or loud
   dull, sharp, shrill, nasal, or hoarse
   smooth, melodious, sonorous
   rapid, moderate, or slow
   constant or variable
   changes: swift, gradual, periodic
   dropping voice at end of sentence
   rising inflection throughout sentence
   uneven accentuation of words, staccato
   even accentuation of words, legato

2 Style or type of speech
   loquacious, taciturn
   frequent or infrequent talking
   circumstantial or meager
   clear or confused
   rich or poor in vocabulary
   favorite words and expressions
   aphasias, pauses, stammering, etc
   lisping or other mannerisms
   long or short sentences
   complete or clipped phraseology
   number of interjections
   style of retelling

3 Motor attitudes during conversation
   much or little synkinesis [auxiliary movements]
   imitative and sympathetic response to speaker
   expressionless attention
   inattention or impatience
   following speaker with eyes"

In the same vein, analyses are made of the possible expressive movements in walking, standing, laughing, weeping, dancing, running, etc.

19. A number of experimenters have attempted to verify the belief that radio lecturers and other speakers who are not seen can give to their listeners, directly or through their phonographic recordings, some idea of themselves The analyses show that the audience has rather clean-cut stereotypes as to how certain people—old persons, truthful people, fat men—normally talk. These beliefs have sufficient validity to make judgments of body build, type of occupation, intelligence, and personality characteristics (interests, degree of dominance, truthfulness, etc.) a little better than pure chance (T. H Pear, 1931; G. W. Allport and H. Cantril, 1934; H C Taylor, 1934; R H Manson and T. H Pear, 1935; R. Stagner, 1936*a*; P. Eisenberg and E Zalowitz, 1938; J H. Caro, 1939; P F. Fay and W. C Middleton, 1939*a*, 1939*b*, 1940*a*, 1940*b*, 1941*a*, and 1941*b*). Listeners are apparently unable to judge how much fatigued a speaker thinks he is (P J Fay and W C Middleton, 1940*c*)

20. The gestures that accompany verbal expressions are not only visual but are tonal as well. Speech and song are made by air waves that are capable of almost infinite variation. Thus the highly trained actor can read the same selection into a recording device in five different manners - to represent anger, contempt, fear, grief, or indifference (G Fairbanks and W. Pronovost, 1938 and 1939). The singing of even a single note may be varied so as to elicit several different moods in others (M Sherman, 1928) Music, tonal material arranged in patterns, has its gestural effects which are quite distinct from those given by the libretto In bugle calls and in African signal drumming musical gestures become almost a language. In general, however, their function is to create moods in the listener See Appendix note 32.

21. By a clever technique, Dunlap has demonstrated rather conclusively that the mouth muscles play a greater part than do the eyes in determining the so-called emotional effect of facial expressions A number of individuals were photographed while they were subjected to situations that tended to arouse genuine emotions. The photographs were cut horizontally (through the bridge of the nose) Other subjects were then requested to judge what emotions had been aroused. They viewed not only the separate halves and the unmutilated photographs but composites in which a mouth portion (lower half) was attached to the wrong eye portion (upper half). When identical eye photographs were attached first to "smiling" lips and then to "surly" lips, the "smiling" eyes of one composite became "surly" eyes in the second (K Dunlap, 1927). Howells also has shown the mouth to be more expressive than the eyes (T H. Howells, 1938) Perhaps the highwayman of wild-west days with his handkerchief over his mouth was wiser than the eye-masked bandit of our day

In another study subjects were shown two sets of pictures, one of the face only and the other showing the face, shoulders, arms, and hands of a young woman. It was found that shoulders, arms, and hands contribute much to the expression of emotions (L. W Kline and D. E. Johannsen, 1935). See also "Written composition and characteristics of personality" (F. H. Allport, L Walker, and E. Lathers, 1934); "Involuntary self-expression in gait and other movements. an experimental study" (W. Wolff, 1935); "Expressive movements related to feeling of dominance" (P Eisenberg, 1937*b*); "A study of the judgment of manual expression as presented in still and motion pictures" (L Carmichael, S O Roberts, and N. Y. Wessell, 1937); "Experimental studies of the symbolism of action and voice;

I. A study of the specificity of meaning in facial expression" (D Dusenbury and F H. Knower, 1938), "Judging personality from expressive behavior" (S G Estes, 1938); and "Character and mentality as related to hand-markings" (C Wolff, 1941) Husband was unable to deduce anything concerning his subjects' personalities from analyses of their photographs (R W. Husband, 1934)

22. A fine example of the relations of socialized behavior and gesture can be seen in handwriting In fact, analysis of handwriting specimens was employed in the Downey *Will-temperament test*, one of the earliest of the tests that purported to measure the more social aspects of man's make-up, his personality (R S Uhrbrock, 1928)

By an analysis of handwriting many graphologists can determine the sex of the writer with at least slightly better than chance successes Allport and Vernon gave handwriting the apt title "crystallized gesture" They have carefully searched the literature for data that show the relation of such gesture to personality and have themselves experimented in this field They have found that the elements of handwriting (size, speed, point, and grip pressure) "correlate with many attributes of movement selected from widely different performances [walking, counting, tapping, estimation of weights, handshake, etc] The pattern of handwriting, its total graphic character, was found, likewise, to be interlocked with other expressive behavior Judgments made from script and judgments made from the direct observation of behavior showed a definite, though not perfect, correspondence" (G W Allport and P E Vernon, 1933)

See also "The measurement of handwriting considered as expressive movement" (O L. Harvey, 1933); "An additional study of the determination of personal interests by psychological and graphological methods" (H Cantril and H. A Rand, 1934), *Graphologie* (L Klages, 1935), *Graphologie als Wissenschaft* (A. Wenzl, 1937), "Judging expressive movement I. Judgments of sex and dominance-feeling from handwriting samples of dominant and non-dominant men and women" (P Eisenberg, 1938), "The ability of untrained subjects to judge neuroticism, self-confidence, and sociability from handwriting samples" (W C Middleton, 1941*b*), and "A comparison of the diagnoses of a graphologist with the results of psychological tests" (D E Super, 1941)

23. Among the many theories of the origin of language elements is the onomatopoeic—sometimes called bow-wow—theory, which holds that many words have come into the several languages as imitations of natural sounds For certain words—buzz, cuckoo, and the like—this theory seems tenable, but its usefulness—how far it can be extended in an explanatory way—is limited Most students of language now feel that most words cannot be accounted for by this theory.

For a consideration of experiments that throw light on language changes of a phylogenetic sort, see "A technique for the experimental investigation of associative interference in artificial linguistic material" (E A Esper, 1925), *Speech its function and development* (G A. de Laguna, 1927), "Studies in linguistic behavior organization. I Characteristics of unstable verbal reactions" (E A Esper, 1933); *The psycho-biology of language* (G. K Zipf, 1935), "Forschung zur Sprachtheorie Einleitung" (K Bühler, 1935); "The psychology of language" (D V McGranahan, 1936); and "An appraisal of psychological research in speech" (W. E Utterback, 1937)

24 Scientists interested in the great ape cannot tell us with any degree of certainty the causes for his failure to learn to speak the human languages Apes do appear to possess a few differentiated emotional cries, but these can hardly be

said to form a language and are not a product of apes' relations with the human languages. The anthropoids understand well, and many appear to possess mental ages far above that necessary for articulate speech; but, so far, the most strenuous efforts to train apes to speak have yielded a very few words, at best. Apes would appear to be visual rather than auditory imitators. Their mental development for a time seems to progress much like that of human beings. But after a few years they lag farther and farther behind the human child, largely, it is believed, because of their lack of overt language (W. N. Kellogg and L. A. Kellogg, 1933) See "Chimpanzee intelligence and its vocal expressions" (R. M. Yerkes and B. W Learned, 1925); *The great apes* (R. M. Yerkes and A. W. Yerkes, 1929); and "Gorillas in a native habitat" (H. C. Bingham, 1932).

When engaged in cooperative work in the laboratory, apes can be taught to signal to each other. This form of communication, however, does not indicate the nature of the task to be done but is merely an order to "do something for me" (M. P. Crawford, 1937).

25. Korzybski has founded a philosophy of language and a system of mental hygiene on the fact that verbal symbols are frequently empty or have twisted meanings (A. Korzybski, 1941) Confusion over symbols is thought to induce anxiety neuroses. Mental patients are taught to shift their attention to verbal symbols whose semantic values are clear and obvious For the psychopath, words too often have taken on purely personal meanings they do not indicate to him what they mean to the more normal portion of the population.

A system of language training related to the Korzybski philosophy is now in operation in a number of American high schools and colleges (S I Hayakawa, 1941). Word usage in journals and books is studied Words having personal-emotional (connotative) meanings are culled and replaced by others having agreed-upon (denotative) semantic value. Thus the statement "Huns steal bread lands tilled by puppets of the bloody Stalin" becomes, perhaps, "German soldiers have now captured certain of the wheat lands of the U S S R." The theory behind this educational philosophy is that engaging in such analysis will improve the student's efficiency in thinking. This hypothesis is an intriguing one but difficult to prove or disprove See also "The effect of stereotyped words on political judgments" (S. C. Menefee, 1936).

26. Language development would seem to be closely related to general intelligence. From knowledge of his vocabulary one can predict a child's I.Q. with great accuracy. Language undoubtedly has its genetic basis, but quite obviously it is socially developed It has been found, for example, that the occupational status of the parent is related to the length of sentence that the preschool child employs. Children whose parents belong to the professional classes are as a rule far better in this phase of language development than are those whose parents are of the lower classes (D. McCarthy, 1930). Goodenough found a parallel between talkativeness of preschool children and occupational status of their parents. As the occupational status decreased, so did the talkativeness (F. L. Goodenough, 1930). Moreover, it has been shown that the correlation between a child's mental age and the education of his parents is negligible until the child is eighteen months of age, when a big increase in the correlational value occurs. It is at this age that language becomes an important tool for the child (N. Bayley, 1933 and 1940).

Because "only" children associate with adults far more than do children with siblings, it is to be expected that their linguistic development will, on the average, be superior. Furthermore, since twins learn to respond to each other's gestures,

their need for speech is less, and their linguistic development should therefore be relatively slow. Observations bear out these deductions (E A Davis, 1937).

27. During the process of babbling, the child stimulates his own ears and the kinesthetic receptors of his voice-box area In time a circular response is elicited in which a reaction, for example, the babbling of "da," serves as the stimulus for the repetition of that response, for the continued babbling of "da-da-da" If the parent says "da," the response will be further facilitated. Parrots who repeat what they hear or have heard on previous occasions, are at this stage of vocalization Their vocalizations are not, however, truly linguistic, as is shown by the fact that these birds are as likely to say "Polly wants a cracker!" when gorged with food as when hungry True language does not exist until vocal response is associated with some object, process, or symbol of these

For accounts of the development of language in the child see *The symbolic process and its integration in children* (J F Markey, 1928); "Language" (E A. Esper, 1935); and "Research on speech sounds for the first six months of life" (O C Irwin, 1941)

A number of studies have been made of the conditions under which social and nonsocial (egocentric) varieties of speech occur In social speech the child questions, answers, commands, requests, criticizes, and the like. In egocentric speech he talks to himself, although some other person may be talked to but ignored if he answers The actual percentages of these two varieties of speech for different age groups and social groups are not known Piaget reports that they are equal (J Piaget, 1926), whereas McCarthy reports that egocentric speech is present in only 3 to 6 per cent of her children's responses (D A McCarthy, 1930) Since these two authors were dealing with different societies (French-Swiss and American respectively), cultural differences may account in part for the discrepancy Lack of objectivity in recording, divergencies in interpretation, and other factors probably share the responsibility. See also "'Egocentricity' in adult conversation" (M Henle and M B Hubbell, 1938)

28. Much has been written about the causes of speech defects, but, except for defects resulting from obvious anatomical difficulties (such as cleft palate, which results in an unmistakable voice quality), little is really known Speech specialists and psychologists are, however, giving the matter their serious attention and have so far developed many systems of therapy

Views on the causes of stuttering and stammering oscillate between the physiogenic and the psychogenic One group of therapists believe that speech defects are associated with left-handedness, and advice is frequently given that a naturally left-handed person should not be forced into right-handed behavior Unfortunately, it is not known whether people are ever naturally left-handed, right-handed, or ambidextrous. It is true that the typical stutterer has more left-handed relatives than does the average normal speaker But whatever vocal ill effects appear after a forced change from left- to right-handed behavior may quite possibly be due to the abrupt change in manual habits and might conceivably occur if a right-handed child were as speedily forced to become left-handed. There is considerable argument about the advisability of attempting to change a child's handedness The sensible procedure, therefore, would be to attempt a very slow change, or preferably to allow the child to remain as he is, since there is no evidence for the popular belief that the left-handed are inferior in various ways to the right-handed In fact Ruch (F L Ruch, unpublished data) has found that the left-handed are similar to the right-handed in scholarship, intelligence, emotional stability, and

degree of contrariness. Even Travis, who for some time held to a theory of cerebral dominance, did not hold that speech troubles are associated with left-handedness as such He felt that the trouble is more likely to arise (as in ambidexterity) when neither side of the brain has dominance, *i.e.*, when there is a "relative lack of unilaterality of motor lead control" See *Speech pathology* (L. E. Travis, 1931); "Stuttering and the concept of handedness" (L. E. Travis and W. Johnson, 1934); and "Theories of handedness" (A. Schiller, 1935 and 1936).

The psychological causes of speech defects are stressed in the following: "Stammering: a psychoanalytical interpretation" (I. H. Coriat, 1928), *Stammering and allied disorders* (C. S. Bluemel, 1935), and *For stutterers* (S Blanton and M. G. Blanton, 1936). Travis himself has now adopted a more psychogenic view: "Stuttering," he says, "is a defense created with extraordinary skill and designed to prevent anxiety from developing when certain impulses of which the stutterer dares not become aware, threaten to expose themselves." (L. E Travis, 1940.)

29. In *Experimental social psychology* (G. Murphy, L B. Murphy, and T M. Newcomb, 1937, pp. 181-187) a distinction is made between three at least quantitatively different uses of the word "imitation." The first is on the order of the conditioned response; the person does not know what he is "imitating" but "unconsciously" associates certain phenomena. The responses that occur as one learns to talk would perhaps fall into this category, as would "unconscious imitation" of handwriting. In one study (D. Starch, 1911) people were given examples - one typewritten and three written by hand with varying degrees of letter width and slant and were told to copy them in their own normal handwriting. Practically all unwittingly modified their handwriting style in conformity with the written models, either in slant, in letter width, or both. This use of the term "imitation" would apply also to the "circular" response. Among the insane and those of low mental age there is a tendency for many socially stimulated acts to be of the circular order; *e.g.*, when asked a question, a person may not answer but may simply repeat the question in whole or in part. The phenomenon is termed "echolalia" or "echophrasia" and is a type of imitation. (The more general term for echolike behavior is "echopraxia.") It is probable that many of the phenomena more generally included under the topic "suggestion" also fit this use of the term "imitation"

The second use of the term - and that followed by the present writers—occurs in "imitation after a trial-and-error period" There is, characteristically, a long preliminary practice period necessary before imitation is possible. The musically untrained schoolboy cannot imitate Fritz Kreisler. He must first become an extremely proficient violinist Likewise, to copy the behavior of any model, one must already have acquired certain of that model's abilities. The necessity for a long preliminary practice period prevents imitation of many of the models one might wish to use.

The third use of the term is in "deliberate" imitation. "Where the thing to be imitated has been learned already, sudden and effective imitation without trial and error may, of course, appear" (p. 187) This is the common-sense use of the term "imitation."

It might be well to add that frequently what is labeled imitation is not imitative at all. The sound of a "missing" airplane motor may so arouse the curiosity of a number of people on the street that all may look up in search of the plane There may be little or no imitation, one of another, but merely a common source of stimulation. Similarity of behaviors does not necessarily mean that imitation has

occurred Even in the jungle monkeys commonly use their hands in ways that look almost human, and many an egotistical human being has exclaimed at their "imitation" of human ways Yet it would be just as sensible to speak of man's "imitation" of monkey ways The similarities in the two sets of behaviors are largely functions of similarities of structure

30. A distinction should be made between the social functions of play and the reasons for the origin of play The former can be quite clearly perceived; the latter must remain in the realm of pure speculation, although some theories are more plausible than others Thus, to regard play as having arisen in order to prepare the child in some respects for life's problems is merely to call attention to the social utility of play. The theory that play is the expression of an instinct possesses the same fallacy inherent in the more general instinct hypothesis To regard play as a recapitulation of certain of the habits of the race in the past is hardly in keeping with the facts Youngsters do not necessarily go through a soldier stage or an Indian stage or any other specific stage in their play development The type of play is determined by social and mental-age factors The recapitulation theory can also be condemned as contrary to the teachings of present-day biologists, who do not credit the Lamarckian doctrine of the inheritance of acquired characteristics The theory that play arises because youngsters have excess energy that must be expended is no more than doubtful biological speculation We know that the healthy youngster does play if given the opportunity and that he will frequently continue when psychologically fatigued. But just what his neurological state may be—whether or not his excess nervous energy (if any) is consumed—has not been determined Because of the difficulties in finding the reasons for the origin of play, it is more fruitful to consider the social-utility aspects of play Indeed, the origin of play is really an anthropological rather than socio-psychological question See E. S Robinson's article "Play" (*Encycl Soc Sci*, **12**, 160–161)

The play activities of the American child have been extensively studied by Lehman and Witty Their data have been published in *The psychology of play activities* (H C Lehman and P A Witty, 1927) and in numerous articles

Child psychologists have made many observational studies of the play activities of children of different ages and cultures Buhler's work on Austrian infants (C Bühler, 1931) indicates that rather definite toy preferences begin at about the eighth month and that attention devoted to the toy will vary from a very short period in the six-month-old child to twenty minutes or more in a year-old child. The play of preschool and school children has been carefully observed in America and in other countries, especially in Russia, where comparisons have been made between children of communistic and those of reactionary groups In America normal children have been compared with brighter and duller children, and sex and racial differences in play activities have been observed Considerable attention is now being focused on the possibilities of diagnosing and curing personality abnormalities through the analysis of play activities

The following references are representative of the many now available *The child and play* (J E Rogers, 1932), *Play behavior and choice of play materials of preschool children* (D Van Alstyne, 1932); "A study of the beginnings and significance of play in infancy II" (C W Valentine, 1938), *Play therapy in childhood* (C H Rogerson, 1939); "The development of certain motor skills and play activities in young children" (T D. Jones, 1939), "A method for the study of personality reactions in preschool age children by means of analysis of their play" (J. L.

Despert, 1940); and "Toward a social psychology of human play" (S. H. Britt and S. Q. Janus, 1941)

31. The perennial quest for the roots of ambition has recently reappeared under the heading "level of aspiration." This latter concept has a variety of definitions, and not all the current aspiration studies deal with similar phenomena. For Hoppe, an early German worker in this field, the "level of aspiration" referred to the individual's expectations, goals, or claims in regard to his own future achievement in a given task (F. Hoppe, 1930). Many of the later experimenters followed Hoppe in defining the concept in subjective vein. Gardner and a number of others, however, now regard the term as referring to the objective indications—the statements and other overt acts that the person makes regarding his future performances (J. W. Gardner, 1940*a*).

Fortunately, many of the recent findings stand out with sufficient clarity to transcend the difficulty of definitions. It has been found that good performers set their goals relatively lower than do poor performers There is thus a tendency for all levels of aspiration to come together (H H. Anderson and H F. Brandt, 1939). Children successful in their schoolwork are more alike in their aspiration levels than are those who are less successful. The latter's responses scatter far more, and understandingly so, for there are probably more reasons for lack of success than for success in schoolwork (P S Sears, 1940) Aspiration level, variously defined, has been correlated with a variety of personality tests; but all the correlations are so low that they have no social significance (R. Gould and N. Kaplan, 1940; and J W Gardner, 1940*b*).

In several experiments the relation of the frame of reference to the level of aspiration has been studied. As might be expected, great differences in the level of aspiration are found between those situations in which the subject is told frankly his actual scores on a certain test, those in which he is led to believe that certain fictitious scores are his own, and those in which he is given the true or fictitious scores of others to be taken for reference. Thus if the subject is told that a certain score is the average made by a group of WPA workers, the effect will be different from what it would have been had the subject been led to believe that the score represented the average of the performances of a large number of college professors (D. W. Chapman and J. Volkmann, 1939, J. W. Gardner, 1939; R. Gould and H B. Lewis, 1940; and M Hertzman and L. Festinger, 1940). There is still considerable doubt as to the temporal stability of the level of aspiration See also "An experimental analysis of 'level of aspiration'" (R. Gould, 1939), "Shifts in aspiration level after success and failure in the college classroom" (L. A. Pennington, 1940); "Judgment and the level of aspiration" (W. McGehee, 1940); "Level of aspiration as affected by relative standing in an experimental social group" (E. R. Hilgard, E. M Sait, and G. A Magaret, 1940); "Estimates of past and of future performances as measures of aspiration" (E. R Hilgard and E. M. Sait, 1941); "Recent studies of the level of aspiration" (J. D Frank 1941); "Differential effect of a social variable upon three levels of aspiration" (M. G. Preston and J. A. Bayton, 1941); and "Some sociological determinants of goal strivings" (R. Gould, 1941).

32. In several places in the text we have stressed the importance of the stage play as symbolic behavior. Unlike the motion picture, the stage play usually has a selected audience, since its patrons, in our society at least, are largely adults Thus the censoring of the stage play has not excited as much attention as has the censoring of its rival, the motion picture. Suffice it to say that, where censoring

of the stage play has existed, it has had neither logical nor experimental justification but has been based upon religious convictions or has been enforced for political or personal gains

Although much has been written concerning the absurdity of censoring motion pictures, those who believe that such censorship is a socially desirable policy have offered little data to substantiate their belief. Up to the present, the attempts to ascertain what effects motion pictures have on children's behavior, although numerous and often expensively conducted, have been so superficial that they deserve only passing mention The sociological studies in which tabulations have been made of the frequency of motion-picture attendance, the type of plot preferred, the amount of money spent, etc , may make interesting reading, but they are largely irrelevant to the censorship question, for they do not disclose causal factors It may be interesting to know that 24 4 per cent of delinquent boys attend the movies five or more days a week, whereas of the more moral boys only 1 2 per cent attend as often But whether motion-picture attendance is the cause or merely a symptom of delinquency is not evident This issue is almost identical to that which has so long worried psychiatrists Does alcohol cause certain people to become insane? Or is alcoholism symptomatic of their more basic psychopathy? Psychiatric belief, at the present, leans toward the latter view, recognizing, it is true, that a drinking bout may furnish the stimuli necessary to set off some particular spell of insanity

The motion pictures can furnish models only for those who have gone well along the road toward crime For those already delinquent, frequent attendance is symptomatic, but for the nondelinquent, it can probably furnish but the slightest of pushes toward delinquency, although it may cause considerable emotional excitement It should be obvious that the questioning of delinquents concerning "what they got from the movies" cannot hope to yield data of much scientific worth Few people know why they behave as they do With the exception of the attitude studies, it would appear that the only types of experimental procedure that show promise of yielding valid data are those developed by Renshaw and others (S Renshaw *et al.*, 1933) on the effect of motion pictures on sleep and by Dysinger and Ruckmick (W S Dysinger and C A Ruckmick, 1933) on galvanometric changes brought about by observing motion pictures, and as yet, the data resulting from these procedures are far too limited to warrant general conclusions A number of those working on motion-picture problems, especially Forman in his popularization of the issue (H J. Forman, 1933), appear to have been motivated by a desire to prove that motion pictures have exerted a bad influence rather than by the scientific wish to see the problem solved in a cool and unbiased manner See *Children and movies* (A M Mitchell, 1929), *Movies and conduct* (H Blumer, 1933), *Movies, delinquency, and crime* (H. Blumer and P M Hauser, 1933), *Motion pictures and youth* (W W Charters, 1933), *Getting ideas from the movies* (P. W Holaday and G D Stoddard, 1933), *The social conduct and attitudes of movie fans* (F. K Shuttleworth and M A May, 1933), *Film und Jugend* (A Funk, 1934), "Influence of motion pictures on moral attitudes of children and the permanence of the influence" (V Jones, 1934), "Moulding of mass behavior through the motion picture" (H Blumer, 1935), *Attendance at motion pictures* (E Dale, 1935*a*); *The content of motion pictures* (E Dale, 1935*b*), "The motion picture experience as modified by social background and personality" (P. G. Cressey, 1938), *America at the movies* (M Thorpe, 1939); and "The reactions of sixth grade children to commercial motion pictures as a medium for character education" (C D Cooper, 1939)

On occasion architecture and sculpture possess symbolic value. But, although a building may call up associations with other lines, shapes, and angles (certain lines, for example, may seem to be reaching heavenward), the degree of symbolic meaning scarcely reaches the point where much behavior modeling can occur. Moralists have little to fear in this regard, although their Freudian friends may frighten them with talk of the unconscious sexual significance of the church door, the steeple, spire, and the like. Sculpture is, however, a different matter. The human body can be copied in almost any desired pose or with any part augmented. To one observer a statue may be merely a naughty nude, whereas to the artist it may signify the pioneer spirit of the west, freedom of speech, or whatnot. The possibilities for symbolism are enormous; as a matter of fact, there is even some possibility of patterning one's poses and attitudes after those suggested by a statue. But, whereas the poet or novelist can tell a story—a connected sequence of events—the sculptor can offer only a single scene The scene will not be understood unless the observer comprehends the sculptor's system of symbols

Much the same can be said of pictorial art If an observer is not initiated into the artist's system of symbols, he will react to a picture as he would to a somewhat similar life scene removed from its proper setting Whatever elements of beauty he perceives depend upon his own associations For this reason, the unsophisticated layman may laugh loudly at the several artistic isms and wonder, perhaps with some reason, whether even the artist's coterie of friends can get meanings from his paintings But paintings may be suggestive in the sense that they can, to some extent at least, aid in the presentation of models Paintings of emaciated saints might, for example, help in inducing some already hyperreligious psychopath to diet or to starve himself. Even the memory of a recently seen photograph of a leper might keep one from shaking hands with the leper one sees in the Orient. But it hardly can be expected that the picture of a Catholic saint will alter much the behavior of little Protestant boys Nevertheless, one of the authors once observed great parental excitement following the use in a school of an otherwise innocuous book that contained one such picture In their emotional excitement the parents failed to see that the saintly picture had no model value for their children.

Historians tell us that the early Christians, in the fear that pagan music might somehow destroy their Christian morals, succeeded in destroying almost all the historical documents that described pre-Christian music. The idea that music and Satan were somehow connected has kept recurring throughout the centuries, and, until quite recent years, even the kindly Quakers feared the effects of music But just what music could conceivably do to morals or, for that matter, to any other part of one's character, is difficult to see.

Through his music the African signal drummer could, of course, pollute the air with improper messages or even descriptions of human beings who might conceivably serve as models for the youth of his tribe (R. T Clarke, 1934) But most music is not so highly symbolic, even when it is accompanied by words Just as in poetry, the words need not bear the precise symbolic value they would possess in ordinary conversation. Poetic license is the rule, and exactitude of meaning is often sacrificed in the cause of rhyme and meter. On occasion, the words may have one set of meanings for one group of singers and another for other singers or for the librettist. Thus the Negro spirituals frequently contain words that have vulgar meanings for the Negro; but to the white men who now sing them they have quite respectable connotations (G. B. Johnson, 1927).

We do, of course, associate so closely the words and music of many songs that the music alone may call up a symbolism previously associated solely with the words We may recall the conditions under which a song was written, or perhaps we have been told for what type of celebration it was intended Again, the music may be associated with a dance and receive the latter's meaning Thus in the Dutch East Indies and in many another land dance steps have quite definite symbolism Even in our own culture, the commercial type of jazz music with its simple structure and rather primitive monotony has, for many people, come to be associated with the dance hall and all that is allied to it, whereas the so-called "better" music has been linked with the concert hall or the opera (J D Eggen, 1926) Given the proper setting, then, music may aid in the formation of either "good" or "bad" models

But that music per se has a symbolic value does not follow Some music, undoubtedly, has some meaning In our own society, for example, slow music of a minor mode tends to mean sadness, and that of a major mode with quicker tempos frequently implies joy To most people of our part of the world music that resolves well seems finished, at rest, that which is left unresolved appears so unfinished that the story has been repeatedly told of musicians who could not be restrained from rushing to the most readily available piano to complete unfinished resolutions There are numerous other musical patterns in this and in other societies which somewhat similarly show a trace of symbolism Yet, in the main, the amount of symbolism is so small in comparison with verbal or gestural behavior that we usually think of music as essentially nonsymbolic

A few theorists believe that much of what is ordinarily taken to be meaning in music comes, not from other associations, but from the inherent structures of musical forms "High" tones are not called high because of association with high resonance in the human head or the "upward strains" one gets from trying to sing "too high," but because of an inherent quality of highness that is attached to notes of greater frequency The issue is too much in the realm of philosophical speculation to warrant further treatment here See *The meaning of music a study in psychological aesthetics* (C C. Pratt, 1931)

Although it is a part of the ritualism of some symphonic music to pretend that each composition "tells" a specific story, it is actually the program note or the announcer who is the narrator The composer may have been motivated by a love of communism, by the visceral drives that arise in neural syphilis, or by the exuberance of youth, for all the listener can tell from the music itself, and there is no way to read the "message" that is supposedly being told. The listener cannot even be certain that the composer is earnestly endeavoring to tell him something He may be "pulling his leg," as it were, for there is no sincerity test or any other measure to tell us what is good in music About all the composer can "get across" is a variety of vague moods, except when he uses some musical form that has a definite meaning in a specific culture, such as the military march To say that music tells a real story is palpably absurd Its effect on a person depends upon that individual's associations with the particular type of music in question. If he has had no association with it, he may be charmed with the innovations or angered by the lack of familiarity; but he is either deluded or tampering with the truth if he says he "understands just what the composer is trying to say." See "Variations in melodic renditions as an indicator of emotion" (H H Roberts, 1927); *The effects of music* (M Schoen, ed , 1927); "Musical symbolism" (F. L. Wells, 1929); "Wohnt der Musik ein bestimmtes Ethos inne?" (W Lurje, 1933), "Factors

determining the characterization of musical phrases" (R. H. Gundlach, 1935); "The emotional effect of intervals as found in a study of the melodies of art songs" (T. V. Van Vliet, 1935); "The affective value of pitch and tempo in music" (K. Hevner, 1937); "Studies in expressiveness of music" (K. Hevner, 1939); "The affective character of music" (C. P. Heinlein, 1939); "The effect of register and tonality upon musical mood" (M. G. Rigg, 1940*a*); and "Speed as a determiner of musical mood" (M. G. Rigg, 1940*b*).

33. The idea of general faculties of memory, imagination, discrimination, perception, reasoning capacity, and the like, although still held by the layman and by an occasional educator, received its psychological death blow at the hands of E. L. Thorndike and R. S. Woodworth in 1901. Since then the idea has been kept rather successfully buried by other experimenters. In place of these hypothetical general faculties, it has been shown that man possesses rather specific abilities. He may have a good memory for faces but a poor one for names, etc. The transfer-benefits one gets from one school subject to another seem to come not from an improvement in one's memory, reasoning ability, or imagination but from the carry-over of specific methods and rules of procedure and from similarities in the materials learned. See *The psychology of learning* (E. R. Guthrie, 1935).

In addition to rather specific abilities, such as a memory for names, man has been thought by some to possess at least one fairly general, unitary, or common factor or ability. For this presumed ability the term *g* (general intelligence) was proposed a number of years ago. Of late, several somewhat less general factors have been postulated. The list now includes *p* (perseveration), *w* (will factor), *c* (opposite of perseveration), *f* (surgency), *e* (emotionality), *n* (jumpiness), *gd* (pressure toward action), *d* (depression), *s* (shyness), *t* (meditative thinking), *r* (happy-go-lucky quality), *a* (alertness), *ll* (thinking that is of the problem-solving kind), and a number of others. The list is steadily growing.

Care should be taken to distinguish these factors from the faculties of an older day. A faculty was conceived to be a natural capacity of the organism, independent of the situation and other environmental variables. Factors, on the other hand, derive from statistical manipulations (factor analysis). Each factor is a function of the clusterings of responses to a particular group of test items. Thus the fact that a large number of tests that are intended to measure the voluntary aspects of behavior have been found to yield consistently positive (even though relatively small) intercorrelations has led to the proposal of a *w* or will factor. See "The factor theory in the field of personality" (L. G. Studman, 1935); "Temperament tests in clinical practice" (R. B. Cattell, 1936); "The factorial analysis of emotional traits" (C. Burt, 1939); "Personality factors D, R, T, and A" (J. P. Guilford and R. B. Guilford, 1939*a*); "Personality factors N and GD" (J. P. Guilford and R. B. Guilford, 1939*b*); "The general factor in correlations between persons" (M. Davies, 1939); "Contributions concerning mental inheritance. II Temperament" (R. B. Cattell and E. V. Molteno, 1940); "A factor analysis of forty character tests" (H. E. Brogden, 1940); "Factor analysis in the establishment of new personality tests" (J. G. Darley and W. J. McNamara, 1940); and "Patterns of behavior of young children as revealed by a factor analysis of trait 'clusters'" (K. M. Maurer, 1941).

34. Psychologists and psychiatrists have long employed association tests by which they have hoped to render the covert behavior of their subjects overt in character. In the simpler sorts of association tests the subject is presented with lists of words and is asked to give the first associations that come to mind. The

latter are evaluated in a number of ways—for speed of reaction, quality and commonality of response, etc (G H Kent and A J. Rosanoff, 1910) One modification of this type of test uses skeletal vowel patterns instead of words (B. F Skinner, 1936, W K Estes, 1940, and D Shakow and S Rosenzweig, 1940). Another modification consists of cloud pictures—fantasy stimuli of a meaningless type (W. Stern, 1937) In still another, many moving colors on the order of those of the famous clavilux or color organ are used (N Cameron, unpublished data)

So far the best known of the association tests is that which has been developed by the psychiatrist Rorschach His test consists of a set of ink blots, some in color These are supposed to elicit a wide assortment of verbal associations into which the subject projects his troubles The procedure has become the basis for a cult,* and its leaders make extravagant claims, *e g*, that they can test intelligence, extroversion, and almost everything else that any other test can measure The validity of the Rorschach test is, however, still uncertain, and arguments about standardizations and interpretations are still raging (S J Beck, 1937; and B. Klopfer *et al*, 1939) For a study that uses Rorschach and other projective techniques, see *Explorations in personality a clinical and experimental study of fifty men of college age* (H A. Murray, 1938) See also "Projective methods in the study of personality" (P M Symonds and E A Samuel, 1941); *The Rorschach technique* (B Klopfer *et al*, 1942); and *The clinical application of the Rorschach test* (R. Bochner and F Halpern, 1942).

35. The life-history method is the name given to a variety of techniques that deal with personality by attempting to obtain an over-all view of the subject's life experiences The use of the method has been stimulated by Dollard who sets for it the following criteria "1 The subject must be viewed as a specimen in a cultural series. 2 The organic motors of action ascribed must be socially relevant 3 The peculiar role of the family group in transmitting the culture must be recognized 4 The specific method of elaboration of organic materials into social behavior must be shown 5 The continuous related character of experience from childhood through adulthood must be stressed 6 The social situation must be carefully and continuously specified as a factor 7 The life history material itself must be organized and conceptualized" (J Dollard, 1935, p 8)

Sociologists, clinical psychologists, and even psychoanalysts have followed at least the majority of these criteria Among the more important life-history studies are *The jack-roller* (C R Shaw, 1930), *The natural history of a delinquent career* (C R Shaw and M E. Moore, 1931); "Prediction from case material to personality test data a methodological study of types" (L M Hanks, 1936); *The study of man an introduction* (R Linton, 1936), *Brothers in crime* (C R Shaw *et al*, 1938), "General methods case study" (W C. Olson, 1938); "The reliability of life-history studies" (D Cartwright and J. R P. French, Jr, 1939); *Minor mental maladjustments in normal people based on original autobiographies of personality maladjustments* (J. E W Wallin, 1939); "How shall a life-history be written?" (N. A. Polansky, 1941); and "Personality under social catastrophe. ninety life-histories of the Nazi revolution" (G. W. Allport, J. S Bruner, and E M Jandorf, 1941)

When a person can be observed for a long period of time, a systematic collection of anecdotes concerning him may be of considerable value Anecdotal records should, however, be used only as an adjunct to other methodologies, particu-

larly that of the life history (A. S. Barr, 1941; and A. M. McClelland and R. L. McManus, 1941).

Biographical analysis is a variety of the life-history method. Although the writing of most biographies is biased (F. Baumgarten, 1937), biographical analysis will yield much if the checks employed in all good historical research are applied. Thus one analysis of biographical data yielded good evidence that the mental health of fifty of the greatest men of history was normally distributed. Although these men of genius may have had many anxieties and other psychoneurotic symptoms that did not get into the records, they displayed no more psychotic symptoms than fifty ordinary people chosen at random would show (C. C. Miles and L. Wolfe, 1936). See also "The evaluative attitudes of Jonathan Swift" (L. W. Ferguson, 1939c).

36. The symbolic nature and the value of thought can be illustrated by the behavior of two men playing chess. Each move that each makes is preceded by a calculation of the consequences. Because there are always a number of possible alternatives, each alternative must be considered in terms of its consequences, so that the most favorable or the least disastrous move may be selected. This calculation cannot be worked out by nonsymbolic trial and error, since, once a chessman is moved, the player cannot retract his decision on the grounds that it was merely a trial that proved to be a failure. He must do the trying out symbolically and, in the main, covertly.

An inexperienced player may ponder the results of each possible move. His lips may move slightly as he verbally traces out what his opponent might do should he move this chessman that way. Possibly he even mutters, "Now, if I move my King there, you could then . . ." His hand may at times hover above a chessman, which he may pretend to move in order more clearly to follow out the consequences of the contemplated act. Thus, by laborious trial and error, he works out a solution to the problem. That trial and error is, however, symbolic; he talks about the trial moves, and he imagines the chessman moved into place and what his opponent may then do. Not until he has found a symbolic solution to the problem does he translate one of these trial moves into nonsymbolic action.

Even the more skillful player presumably goes through a trial-and-error process before he acts nonsymbolically. The more skillful player, however, does this rapidly and covertly; he uses a thought short cut. Although imagination of a visual character may enter into this process—in his "mind's eye" he may see the chessmen moved into place—it is possible that covert speech, in which the "feel" of the muscular positions involved serves for the words themselves, is more important.

37. From the sociological standpoint the most fruitful application of motivational terminology is perhaps that which has been made by Thomas and others who have followed his example. Impressed with the difficulty of classifying the behavior of human beings in terms of behavior units, he has suggested in *The Polish peasant* that all the varied actions of men might be divided into four mutually exclusive motivational categories: the wish for security, the wish for new experience, the wish for recognition, and the wish for response (W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, 1918-1920).* Such a division is, however, but one of the many possible ways of

* Following the Thomas-Znaniecki classification of wishes, Krout requested of his subjects a week's record of their activities. The time devoted to the expression of a wish was thought to measure only the extent to which an individual manages

classifying what man does, the four wishes do not explain why man does what he does. Dunlap's motivational classification into several "desire" categories* probably serves his followers quite as well; since, however, Thomas's classification has received far more attention, it will be discussed at some length here.

The *wish for security* may be used to describe all actions that contribute or appear to contribute to the maintenance of things as they are. Thus the efforts of a man to curry the favor of his employer in order to retain his job, his efforts to retain his wife's affections, or his efforts to prevent a political revolution would be classified under this category.

No doubt a considerable block of human behavior can be interpreted in this way. Men tend to resist changes. Much of the social history of the later Middle Ages is the story of the efforts of a majority to prevent a small minority from introducing novel things and methods. The struggle of early science was the struggle against the characteristic conservatism of men. Even today we tend to cling to old social precepts, however willing we are to accept the newest mechanical gadget.

Whenever a man's economic, physical, or social welfare is threatened, he takes a defensive position, struggling as best he knows how to retain or to regain his customary economic and physical status. From another point of view, it may be said that he has learned to fear, and hence to try to avoid, any threat to his status. Status is, of course, entirely relative to the individual. The man who is accustomed to three good meals a day, a sizable apartment, unlimited credit, and a large balance in the bank will consider these things essential to his security. The man on the dole may feel a need only for his weekly stipend.

Life, fire, sickness, and other insurances constitute one of the most tangible expressions of man's wish to stay secure. Much of the antagonism and abuse showered upon those who would change things—whether it be a change in the system of government, industry, the family, or simply a change in street names—can also be thought of as belonging in the same category.

All man's conservatism—and it runs through much that he does—is traceable to the fact that, once he has learned a reasonably effective pattern of life adjustment, any external changes that may make that pattern less effective are distressing. The efforts, then, that a man makes to prevent such change may be described as an expression of his wish for security.

The *wish for new experience* is the antithesis of the wish for security. It may be used to describe those actions that disturb the *status quo* of the individual. Thus, the fact that a man takes a vacation, quits his job, divorces his wife, or joins a revolutionary political party would be described as an expression of his wish for new experience.

Much of present-day human action may be classed as anticonservative or radical.† With the ordinary man this kind of action may take such forms as an

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to express his wishes and not the intensity. The wish for security was found to lead the list, those for response and recognition occupied a middle position; and that for new experience came last (M. H. Krout, 1934).

* Dunlap's nine desires were the alimentary, the excretory, the desire for protection, for activity, for rest, for preeminence, for conformity, the amorous, and the parental desire (K. Dunlap, 1934).

† Radicalism in religion and economics has been much studied since the pioneer work with Watson's test of "fair-mindedness" (G. B. Watson, 1925). Later

occasional vacation from the humdrum routines of home, office, and club; an occasional change of suit or tie, or an occasional change of house or apartment Some individuals, however, would seem to be inveterate adventurers. They are explorers of distant and little known lands. Perhaps they explore the new by rising to the stratosphere or sinking deep into the ocean; perhaps they explore the world of the scientific laboratory, finding new facts and constructing new theories; perhaps they are explorers of a possible social future—adventurers in social reconstruction, who may or may not be adventurous along other lines

All activities that are deviations from social norms may be classified as expressions of the wish for new experience On the negative side this would seem to imply a boredom with the *status quo*, an effort to escape the fatigue that arises from repetition of a single action pattern. It should be observed, however, that even the most adventurous want the "new" to be composed largely of old and recognizable elements. Things that are too radical are usually disturbing rather than stimulating To be commercially successful, a new piece of music, a novel, or a joke must ordinarily be no more than an old one re dressed

Although the distinction between the first two of this fourfold classification is obvious, that between the second pair, recognition and response, is not so apparent The *wish for recognition** can perhaps be imputed to such activities as a man's flattering an employer in order to get a better position, his taking a correspondence-school course in salesmanship in order to improve his value to his employer, his marrying above his social position, or his becoming a Democrat in the hope of securing a political position. In other words, this wish is used to describe all those actions which lead to increased social and economic prestige for the individual. There are, in addition, many actions that can have little value in themselves; their chief significance to the one who acts is that they serve as a means of drawing the favorable attention of others. Sometimes termed "rivalry," actions of this order are invariably competitive. Although the behavior itself might be described as a consequence of the wish for recognition, we frequently speak of the person who endeavors to assert his superiority in competition with others as an egotist. Illustrative of the forms of behavior that may be described as egotistical are temper tantrums, childish pounding on the piano while guests are present, and buying a new car even though the old one functions well and economically

In certain types of activity, men seem to work most efficiently under competitive conditions Utilization of the "competitive spirit" in an effort to intensify work and play efficiency is a commonplace of everyday life. The fact that a man runs his fastest on the track when he is competing with others rather than with his own past scores may be described as motivated by his wish for recognition, so, too, may the fact that a woman puts on her best and newest dress to attend a party,

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studies have shown that the radical is likely to consider himself rejected by his parents; that he is more subject to inferiority feelings; and that he is considered more pessimistic, more handicapped in social relations, and more equipped with special aptitudes than is the conservative (M. H Krout and R. Stagner, 1939). The radical is also apt to be slightly brighter, more dominant, better informed (E. S. Dexter, 1939), and economically poorer (R. H. Gundlach, 1939). See "A study of the influence of political radicalism on personality development" (S. Diamond, 1936)

* See "Adjustment problems of university girls arising from the urge for recognition and new experience" (S. H. Jameson, 1941)

that she wants to keep up with the trend of fashion, or that in a group of other women she talks rapidly in an unusually loud tone of voice In a like way have been classified the efforts of a man to become known as the "best man on the job" or "the life of the party", those of the army private to become a lance corporal; those of the multimillionaire to get an appointment to the court of St James, or those of the dictator to increase the number of his subjects

In some societies there is little opportunity for the individual to change his social status, and in these there would be less occasion than in our society to speak of a wish for recognition Whenever social recognition is a matter of birth, competition cannot appear between members of different class, sex, or age groups In our dynamic and highly competitive society, a great deal of human action would seem to have no other objective than that of asserting the individual's superiority over his associates We are, in a sense, a society composed of egotists, each endeavoring to rise above the others Many of our actions may therefore be aptly described as an expression of the wish for recognition

The actions of a meek man who timidly strikes up a conversation with the one who shares his seat on the train should not be described as the result of egotism or a wish for recognition His behavior is a noncompetitive form of action, which may be termed "communalism" He may listen earnestly to whatever the other has to say, express opinions of his own only when the other lapses into silence, and likewise reveal a hunger for companionship upon any basis Man is often spoken of as a gregarious animal—a reference to the fact that men tend to form small communal groups

In an integrated society, the individual's membership in various social groups is so automatic as to arouse little comment. He belongs His life is organized, and one phase of that organization is the response he receives to his presence by the members of his various social groups He does not need, therefore, to seek out companions People who are accustomed to the comparatively isolated life of modern urban communities are inclined to feel irritated at the constant presence of intimates—which was characteristic, for example, of life on the old-fashioned farm They may feel a lack of privacy under such conditions. Removed from his usual surroundings, however, even the most self-sufficient urbanite will commonly seek out people with whom he can communicate

The tendency for people to draw together whenever they are faced with extraordinary circumstances has been described as the result of the *wish for response* When the fog grows dangerously thick and a sense of uncertainty pervades the passengers on a ship, former social barriers often drop away, and the passengers form close intimate groups Apparently this sort of thing is but an adult parallel to the child's trick of running to mother for "comfort" when he is overtired or when he is disturbed by some unusual noise or event

In the modern world many people who as children lived in intimate companionship with others may find themselves removed in later years from such membership. They feel lonely and, as an effort to reestablish themselves, may become joiners The man who hangs around a low-class poolroom, bar, dance hall, or "rummy" club may be said to evidence a wish for response, so, too, may his social superior who sits and chats idly all afternoon in his luxurious club and goes the rounds of night clubs after dinner At times the use of books, motion pictures, and the radio may be similarly described Ours is a busy, unstable society, in which the individual is frequently denied the companionship that was his in childhood and youth

38. There are at least two types of overt activities that are themselves poorly verbalized; and surely the accompanying covert behaviors must be even less verbalized First there are those overt activities which are learned during the preverbal period, the period before speech habits are well established. During the first year or so the child must acquire many habits, and no set is more difficult to establish than that having to do with the control of the bladder and the alimentary tract. Yet no other training is perhaps so clumsily handled. The child is not encouraged to discuss his difficulties. Only signs and baby talk are allowed, and after a time even these are curtailed without adequate explanations. With a hush-hush atmosphere ever present, no frank ironing out of difficulties is possible. In fact failure of eliminative control, as in enuresis, is sometimes employed by the child to control his parents. They call in first an internist and later a psychiatrist, give the enuretic special attentions, and augment his ego in many other ways It is, therefore, no wonder that there arises a variety of poorly verbalized and unverbalized covert behavior paralleling excretory difficulties—anxieties, long-continued moods, and the like. Many psychoanalysts are so much impressed by the possibilities for major frustrations that they trace many important complexes of later life back to these poorly verbalized moods and attitudes that are said by the analysts to reside in a semimystical unconscious. The term "unconscious" is, however, a misleading one; it is likely to lead the layman to believe that these early habits are kept intact in a magic box of some sort, and to imply that these early habits continually attempt by fair means and foul to escape from their place of confinement. It would be more scientific to say that there exists a poor integration of habits, both overt and covert.

Later in the child's life, but earlier than the older books on child psychology would admit, the beginnings of sex play appear In our somewhat prudish culture such activity is not looked upon as normal Again the hush-hush attitude appears with prohibition of both the more obvious activities and the few words used to describe them. Again the stage is set for covert conflicts. To the credit of the psychoanalysts it must be said that they have been among the first to appreciate the frustrating nature of such suppressions. Unfortunately, however, certain of the analysts have regarded early sex and eliminative troubles as basic to all later mental troubles. This particularistic sort of explanation, thus bringing of all troubles back to a few childish upsets, cannot of course be accepted; but the importance to later adjustment of the poorly verbalized, overt activities of childhood and of their covert accompaniments must not be ignored.

39. The concept of negative and positive identification assists in the analysis of such differential responses as those of humor and tragedy and those of sentimentality and pity. Without this concept, the distinction between the humorous and the tragic situation in the play, the motion picture, and the written story is a baffling one; for the clue lies not in the situations but in the identifications made by the one who finds the situation either humorous or tragic. The situations themselves are highly conventionalized; we laugh at that which we have been taught to laugh at and cry about that which is conventionally a cause for tears. But frequently there is no consistent outward difference between situations that the audience considers humorous and those that the audience feels tragic The embarrassed country boy in the fashionable salon of a great metropolis can be an object either of humor or of tragedy. The man who trips and falls downstairs to land at the proud dowager's feet may be either a laughable buffoon or a heart-rending unfortunate. Apparently, therefore, it is not the situation per se that makes for

the difference in the reaction of the audience, but the way in which and the extent to which the members of the audience have identified themselves with the central character

In witnessing a play or motion picture or in following the narrative of a story, one tends to identify oneself positively with one or more of the characters In accordance with the dramatic formula, the observer is generally given a hero with whom to make a positive identification and a villain with whom to make a negative identification. Vicariously, the observer can then enjoy the successes of the hero and the misadventures of the villain, an enjoyment intensified by contrast with the occasional vicarious anguish induced by the difficulties of the former and by the achievements of the latter In the happy-ending type of story, the hero and heroine finally outwit and defeat the villain In tragedy, however, the villain is frequently an impersonal force—nature or the social system Thus the success of the villain does not greatly add to the displeasure that the observer feels at the hero's defeat, since the observer is in a sense resigned to victories of nature over man

In comedy the observer is led to reverse his usual identifications with the dramatic characters, so that the events that would otherwise be tragic become funny To accomplish this reversal of identification, the hero, although a tragic figure, is made so unpersonable that the observer will make no positive identification and may make some negative identification with him To attain this end, comedians are always "comic," *i e*, of an appearance that precludes positive identification on the part of the observer The comic effect is probably heightened when the misfortunes of the comedian are caused by a villain with whom the observer can make a degree of positive identification Thus in comedy we laugh when the good-natured thug hits the ridiculous policeman over the head with a playful piece of lead pipe, whereas in tragedy we are agonized when the horrible thug hits the noble policeman over the head with a vicious piece of lead pipe

40 Even though we were to accept, contrary to all evidence (see Appendix note 42), the idea that races can be satisfactorily separated one from another on the basis of anthropological measurements, it would be impossible to accept the thesis of the biological determinists There is no scientific evidence that one particular "race" is biologically better than the others In "A study of psychological differences between 'racial' and national groups in Europe," Klineberg found no significant differences in "intelligence" between Nordics, Alpines, and Mediterraneans (O Klineberg, 1931–1932) Nor was any national group consistently superior. One of his French groups was, for example, among his best, whereas another was low

The questionnaire studies reported in "Emotional reactions connected with differences in cephalic index, shade of hair, and color of eyes in Caucasians" (G M Stratton, 1934*a*) are claimed by their author to demonstrate emotionality to be an innate characteristic, found most strongly in Mediterraneans, less in Nordics, and still less in Alpines It is the view of the present authors, however, that Stratton's data do not justify the conclusions he draws The nature-nurture issue cannot be studied satisfactorily by so simple and crude a device as the questionnaire (see Appendix note 16)

In America large differences in Binet intelligence and in other abilities have been found among the several European nationals But the impossibility of divorcing the effects of education and opportunity and the lack of a technique for determining how typical these people are of their respective "races" make doubtful

any conclusion as to native differences (G. H. Estabrooks, 1928). Franzblau, who has compared Danes and Italians in both America and Europe, found that, although the American groups show the expected differences in favor of the Danes, the European groups show no significant differences (R. N. Franzblau, 1935). Such studies certainly indicate that the burden of proof should be upon those who maintain that the "racial" differences found between various national groups in America are innate.

When Amerindians and Negroes are compared with whites, the factor of differential social status inevitably intervenes. No one knows the effect that his inferior social and economic opportunity has on the Negro's intelligence. Certainly it must be considerable. Urban residence, for instance, has been found to be an important variable in the formation of Negro intelligence. In general, the longer the urban residence, the higher the intelligence is likely to be (O. Klineberg, 1935*b*). Amerindians and Negroes generally score lower than do whites; the Chinese and Japanese, on the other hand, compare quite favorably with European immigrants as a group and are far superior to certain of those from the south and east of Europe.

Personality tests have so far shown few consistent "racial" differences; and when slight differences do appear, it is well nigh impossible to interpret the data. See "Personality differences between Negro and white college students, North and South" (J. R. Patrick and V. M. Sims, 1934) and *Thus be their destiny: the personality development of Negro youth in three communities* (J. H. Atwood *et al.*, 1941).

The most striking aspect of the problem of "race" is not that an occasional difference is found but rather that there is such an enormous overlap between groups. On a particular test 40 per cent of a so-called "inferior" race will frequently achieve better scores than that made by the median of a so-called "superior" race. And from every large "race" have come many individuals who on the basis of any criterion have contributed much to the world. Their "intelligence" and other personal qualities invite the closest of scrutinies. Often their status is won in spite of the bitterest of opposition—gained in the presence of social and economic pressures that would not have been invoked against a member of a favored race.

For reviews of the studies on racial differences, see *Race psychology* (T. R. Garth, 1931); *Race differences* (O. Klineberg, 1935*a*); *Race: science and politics* (R. Benedict, 1940); "Race problems in America" (R. Benedict, 1941); and *Scientific aspects of the race problem* (H. S. Jennings *et al.*, 1941).

41. The literature based upon the Aryan myth is as broad as it is shallow. The most notorious of the books on this subject that have appeared in English in recent times is, perhaps, *The rising tide of color against white world-supremacy* (T. L. Stoddard, 1920). Next in rank order is probably *The passing of the great race* (M. Grant, 1921). Many temperate and cautious attacks upon the problem of racial differences have, however, been made. Among these are the following: *Race differences* (O. Klineberg, 1935*a*), in which the attempts to find biological explanations for racial differences in behavior are examined and the idea of biological causation is ultimately rejected; *The racial basis of civilization* (F. Hankin, 1926); and *Race and civilization* (F. Hertz, 1928).

That much of the variation in the performances of the members of different groups is of social origin seems certain. That the problem is a complex and unsettled one is also true. See, for example, the detailed studies of racial mixture in *The mulatto in the United States* (E. B. Reuter, 1918); *The American race problem*

(E B Reuter, 1927*a*); and *Race mixture* (E B Reuter, 1931) These studies will indicate why, as M. J Herskovits says ("Race mixture," *Encycl. Soc. Sci*, **13**, 41–43), there can at present be no unanimity upon the psychological or social results of racial crossing See also *American minority peoples* (D R Young, 1932*a*); *The tragedy of lynching* (A F Raper, 1933); *Race relations adjustment of whites and Negroes in the United States* (W D Weatherford and C S Johnson, 1934), "Intra-race testing and negro intelligence" (P A Witty and M. A. Jenkins, 1936); *The marginal man: a study in personality and culture conflict* (E V. Stonequist, 1937), *The Negro family in the United States* (E F Frazier, 1939); *Children of bondage* (A Davis and J. Dollard, 1940), and *Negro youth at the crossways* (E F Frazier, 1940)

42. The people of the world cannot be classified on objective biological grounds into mutually exclusive groupings Nevertheless, we think of people as belonging to some specific race, which we consider as a biological unit, and we frequently act upon this subjective classification The term "race" has, thus, sociopsychological if not biological significance For the impossibility of making a biological classification, see F Boas's article "Race" (*Encycl Soc Sci*, **13**, 25–36).

The confusion existing between the concept of "race" and that of "cultural similarity" is well illustrated in lay thinking about the Jews To most gentile laymen "a Jew is a Jew," and it makes very little difference whether the individual's ancestors came from Russia or from Spain Yet to the specialist in races this is a vital difference The Russian Jews have practically nothing in common with the Spanish Jews, as blood tests and many other types of measurement show. The two groups have a religion in common—in tradition, if not in fact, and both are often persecuted and socially isolated It is these cultural factors that cause their being considered Jewish, and so non-Aryan Genetically speaking, Russian Jews and Spanish Jews come from quite different stocks, each of which is in many respects similar to the group near which it has lived for many centuries

43 Two sorts of studies have been used in the endeavor to verify the assumption that occupational status is directly related to inherent potentialities

In the first type of study the intelligence of the children of the members of various occupational groupings is compared The average intelligence-test score of children of professional men is found to be higher than is that of the children of business and clerical groups, and the mean score made by the children of the latter groups is found to be higher than that made by the children of semiskilled workers, farmers, and unskilled workers. See "Mental capacity of children and paternal occupation" (M E Haggerty and H B Nash, 1924), "The relation of the intelligence of pre-school children to the occupation of their fathers" (F. L Goodenough, 1928); "Parental occupations and children's intelligence scores" (A M Jordan, 1933), "The intelligence of Negro college students and parental occupation" (H G Canady, 1936); "Socio-economic status and intelligence a critical survey" (W S Neff, 1938); "Intelligence as related to socio-economic factors" (J Loevinger, 1940)

If the intelligence-test scores could be proved to be a function solely of innate potentiality, such data would indeed prove that class position and native intelligence are closely related But in view of the fact that we do not know to what extent the tests measure differences in innate ability and to what extent the test scores reflect differences in educational and occupational opportunity and other social factors, we cannot go far beyond the simple statement that children of the higher classes achieve a higher average score on a particular intelligence test than

do those of the lower occupational classes. The overlapping between the several groups is enormous; in fact, it is frequently so great that fully a third of the children whose fathers belong to a low occupational class will have scores above the average of the children whose fathers are from the next higher class.

In the second type of study, the members of various occupational groups are tested. This procedure also yields a hierarchy of "tested intelligence." Fryer in "Occupational-intelligence standards" (D. Fryer, 1922) demonstrated that engineers who were given the Army Alpha test had a mean score slightly higher than that of clergymen, and that the mean score of these latter was slightly higher than that of accountants, physicians, etc. Other analyzers of the army data have found a similar hierarchy. But here again, several environmental factors—formal education, occupational opportunity, and the like—will work unevenly over the various occupational levels and will make futile any attempt to disclose an organic basis for the measured difference.

Those who are anxious to prove that our present economic system is the best of all possible ones will, nevertheless, argue that class positions are today and were always a reflection of biological status. In so doing, they completely ignore the factors of differential opportunity. One of the worst examples of such rationalization can be found in *American business leaders* (F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, 1932). The eugenists, too, have often been guilty of making the a priori assumption that social status is a consequence of biological status. See *Racial hygiene* (T. B. Rice, 1929) and a criticism of this book in a review (E. B. Reuter, 1930). Note also the use of this rationalization in *Social mobility* (P. Sorokin, 1927) to "prove" that social revolt is socially unjustified.

For an understanding of the way in which differential social circumstances operate to produce different human "types" of the class order see the following, which will indicate something of the way in which the "other half" live, no matter what half the reader represents: *The ghetto* (L. Wirth, 1928); *The Gold Coast and the slum* (H. W. Zorbaugh, 1929); "Five generations of a begging family" (H. W. Gilmore, 1932); and A. Livingston's "Theory of the gentleman" (*Encycl. Soc. Sci.*, 6, 616–620). To those who still believe that the "four hundred" are as socially important as they think themselves to be, *The theory of the leisure class* (T. B. Veblen, 1926) will prove a good antidote.

44. From mental-test data concerning sex differences in emotional response no definite conclusion emerges. Flemming in "Sex differences in emotional responses" (E. G. Flemming, 1933) claims that his male and female subjects possessed quite similar "interests," "worries," and "ideas concerning what things are wrong" (as shown by scores on *X-O* tests). Miles and Terman, however, report in "Sex difference in the association of ideas" (C. C. Miles and L. M. Terman, 1929) certain rather consistent sex differences in associations of ideas. Women seemed to give the more introverted, evaluating types of responses. Willoughby reports sex differences which he believes reflect "chiefly differential environmental pressures brought to bear on the individual from within and without at the different periods of life, rather than congenital factors" (R. R. Willoughby, 1935). From his questionnaire data Stratton deduces that women's fear reactions are markedly more intense than are those of the other sex. He believes that personal history of disease increases the intensity of the fear response for women but not for men (G. M. Stratton, 1934*b*). See also "Some highlights in the literature of psychological sex differences published since 1920" (W. B. Johnson and L. M. Terman, 1940) and "Studies of sex differences: II" (E. B. Skaggs, 1941).

Anthropological studies have done much to discourage the assumption that sex differences in behavior have their origin in the biology of sex Mead claims that there is little correlation between the relation of sex and personality in the three primitive societies that she has compared in *Sex and temperament* The Arapesh seem to have no temperamental differences between the sexes, to place a high value on nonaggressiveness, and to recognize no strong sexual urges. On the other hand, among the Mundugumor, a violent people, father and son often compete for the same woman, and the women look upon sex activity with the same violent interest as do the men In contrast to both of these are the Tchambuli, whose men are artistic and "feminine" according to our standards and whose women dominate and are most active in the economic life of the community (M Mead, 1935)

Now on the market is a test of masculine and feminine attitudes and interests (L. M Terman, C C Miles *et al*, 1936) The test was developed by the process of finding items that would differentiate certain high-school, college, and adult females from males of comparable scholastic and chronological age The test is given ostensibly as a measure of interest with the real purpose obscured The reason for this deception lies in the fact that a person could intentionally answer the test so as to make his score more masculine or more feminine (E L Kelly, C. C Miles, and L M Terman, 1936) The test results show that many so-called "he-men" receive scores that are no more masculine than those obtained by less "masculine" men * Similarly, many women who are considered extremely "feminine" do not tend to score significantly more feminine on the test As the sexes achieve more scholastic interests, their scores tend to meet Thus, scores achieved by college professors, priests, and authors tend to be more feminine than those made by businessmen. A scoring key for Strong's *Vocational interest blank*, which distinguishes boys from girls on the basis of "affirmed likes and dislikes," is described in "Sex differences in occupational interests of high school students" (H D Carter and E K Strong, Jr, 1933)

45. In the Hartshorne-May (C E I) study of honesty (H Hartshorne, M A May *et al*, 1928–1930, and H Hartshorne 1932) the ethics of a large number of children were tested in school and other situations. The techniques included both paper-and-pencil tests and observational methods. The intercorrelations between the several tests of honesty were very low It was found that almost any given child may cheat one day but not the next, that he may cheat when he is in a classroom where cheating is the expected behavior, but be honest when he is in classrooms where higher standards of ethics exist, and that whenever cheating is made easy (*e g*, by the presence of erasers and the absence of the teacher), the typical child may cheat From data such as these many have concluded that honesty is highly specific See "A study of the honesty of prospective teachers" (B E. Atkins and R E Atkins, 1936); "The problem of student honesty" (F W. Parr, 1936), and "Honesty is relative" (L Omwake, 1939) Tests of cheerfulness also have been found to intercorrelate poorly (P T Young, 1937) With tests of conservatism, however, the intercorrelations are considerably higher (T F. Lentz, 1938)

* The work of Gilkinson indicates that there is no single objective criterion of physical masculinity He found extremely low intercorrelations between pitch level of the speaking voice, hip and shoulder dimensions, and distribution of hair over the body (H. Gilkinson, 1937).

Although trait-test intercorrelations are generally very low, they are rather consistently positive This fact has been used by Maller as an argument for generality rather than specificity of traits (J B Maller, 1934). It is, of course, always possible to ignore the specificity-generality problem and, from averages of the data, to consider general trends Thus it can be shown that children from the higher income levels are the more honest (i e., they average higher on the several honesty tests) and that children in the higher grades are the least truthful and the most tactful (B. J. Horton, 1937). For a survey of the current literature on traits see "Topical summaries of current literature. personality traits" (C. Schettler, 1939). See also "Faculties *versus* traits; Gall's solution" (H. D. Spoerl, 1936); "The concept of traits" (H. A. Carr and F. A. Kingsbury, 1938); and "Some antecedent concepts of personality trait" (C. Schettler, 1941)

46. At the beginning of the century, Terman reported his pioneering work on school leaders in "A preliminary study of the psychology and pedagogy of leadership" (L. M. Terman, 1904) A few of the more important qualities possessed by the child leaders of his day deserve mention here As Terman described them, these children were less selfish, more daring, greater readers, better in schoolwork, less emotional, more fluent speakers, of "better" parentage, "better" looking, of larger size, better dressed, and more conspicuous in some respect Several contemporary Russian investigators have been working on projects similar to that initiated by Terman. Their data would probably prove of great value could they be shown to be truthfully reported * For a typical foreign study see "Essai d'une étude sur les enfants meneurs" (E. Chevaleva-Ianovskaia and D Sylla, 1929). For more recent American data see "Leadership among adolescent boys" (E D. Partridge, 1934) See also "Measurement and prediction of leadership" (D P. Page, 1935) and "Characteristics of group leaders" (L. D. Zeleny, 1939).

The interesting observation that, at least in the case of children, there must not be too great a disparity in I.Q between a leader and those led appears in *Gifted children: their nature and nurture* (L. S. Hollingworth, 1926). Children with extremely high I.Q.'s are likely to become leaders of youngsters of high I.Q.'s but not of children with average I.Q.'s. Those of high I Q. tend to be the leaders of these latter.

Almost two decades ago two German investigators attempted to get at the qualities of leadership merely by asking school children just what it was that made leaders out of certain of their classmates (A. Leib, 1928; and K. Broich, 1929) Practically all the traditionally "approved" traits were mentioned. Since the answers in such studies must certainly reflect the culture of the times, one wonders what kinds of reports would be obtained at present in Nazi Germany. One might guess that the "quality of democratic leadership" would not now be mentioned

In any attempt to study the personality of college leaders, a major difficulty arises from the fact that the school system usually sets some minimum standards of academic achievement for student leaders. In many institutions the student must make grades above a certain level and must keep at this point in spite of the time-consuming nature of his extracurricular activities, for which no grade credits are given. Other institutions may have lower standards; they may even subsidize

* It should be noted that, wherever dictatorships are functioning (it matters little whether they be left or right), materials that bear on social relations are likely to be censored and warped. Clearly, then, such data cannot be accepted unskeptically.

their athletes openly or secretly or bring pressure on the faculty to "give" good grades to these college leaders, a procedure that cannot help having its effect in the molding of personality. In some instances, the leader himself is able to high-pressure the faculty so that he receives better marks and ratings than he deserves Then, too, the well-known "halo" and "hearsay" effects may enter in If a teacher knows that a given student is a leader along one line, the halo or prestige so engendered may cause the teacher to rate this leader as something of a leader in other lines A comparable effect may result from rumors about this person's conquests in other fields (hearsay effect) *

Several investigators have, nevertheless, attempted studies of leadership among college students See "A study of the personality of student leaders in colleges in the United States" (A O Bowden, 1926); "An analysis of qualities associated with leadership among college students" (E C Hunter and A M Jordan, 1939), and "A statistical study of leadership among college women" (M D Dunkerley, 1940) High-school leadership has been somewhat similarly studied. See "Measuring leadership" (E H. Morris, 1930); "A factor analysis of the personality of high school leaders" (E G Flemming, 1935), and "Leadership in the high school" (W H. Reals, 1938)

From the sociological viewpoint, leadership has been discussed at considerable length in *Leaders and leadership* (E S Bogardus, 1934), *Leadership or domination* (P Pigors, 1935), and "A study of the leadership process" (A. J Murphy, 1941)

47. F H Allport and G W Allport have published a test of aggressiveness or social dominance which attempts to measure what a subject thinks he would do in certain social situations The scores on this ascendance-submission test correlate slightly (.30 to .35) with the subjects' and their associates' ratings of dominance (G. W Allport, 1928). There appears to be no relationship between the scores of mothers and daughters, of fathers and daughters, or of husbands and wives (M N. Crook and M Thomas, 1934) This *A-S* test, as it is called, has been revised. See "Ascendance-submission test—revised" (R O Beckman, 1933)

The personality inventory (R Bernreuter, 1935) is composed of a single list of questions that can be scored with six sets of weights One set gives the equivalent of the Allports' ascendance-submission test and is called by Bernreuter the "*B* 4 *D* test." Scores on this test have been found to check well with data gathered by the interview technique (R Stagner, 1934) When first starting their academic careers in America, foreign students in American colleges generally rate themselves as highly submissive but gradually change their ratings toward the dominant end of the scale. See also "A study of the consistency of dominant and submissive behavior in adolescent boys" (E A Schuler, 1935); "Some relations between family background and personality" (J Carpenter and P Eisenberg, 1938), "Dominance, personality, and social behavior in women" (A H. Maslow, 1939); and "An examination of the concepts of domination and integration in relation to dominance and ascendance" (H H Anderson, 1940).

Examples of the relation of dominance to cultural factors can be seen in the several studies on conversation Those by Moore (H T Moore, 1922) and those

* Of course, such spurious elements in our judgments occur outside as well as inside the classroom Because a man is an authority in one field, we listen to him with bated breath while he talks in a field about which he knows next to nothing The specialist in one line is regarded by the mass of people as being an expert in many other fields

by Landis and Burtt (M. H. Landis and H. E. Burtt, 1924) apparently indicate that in America in "man and woman" conversations there is a tendency for the woman to adapt her interests to those of the man. Observations in London, on the contrary, seem to show that the Englishman adapts his conversation to that of his female companion (C. Landis, 1927). See also "Sex differences in conversational interests" (S. M. Stoke and E. D. West, 1931); "Sex differences in conversation" (J. S. Carlson, S. W. Cook, and E. L. Stromberg, 1936); and "Conversation as a reflector of social change" (W. J. Baker and D. McGregor, 1937).

Dominance is a pattern of behavior that exists even among the lower animals. Among many species the following sets of variables are clearly tied to dominance: relative size, strength, health, and age; conditions attending the first meeting of the animals in question; sex (although in most species the male is dominant at all times, among the chimpanzees the female is dominant during oestrous); familiarity with the territory and "ownership"; and special friendship with a more dominant animal. Among the subhuman primates, submission is often shown through the assumption by males of female sexual postures. See "The experimental measurement of a social hierarchy in *Gallus domesticus*" (C. Murchison, 1935c); "Observations of dominance-subordination in cats" (C. N. Winslow, 1938); and "Companionship preference and dominance in the social interaction of young chimpanzees" (V. Nowlis, 1941).

With humans, dominant behavior appears very early. It shows itself in the infant's reactions even while he is in the crib. Buhler claims that at this stage the older of two infants (older by three months or more) usually dominates the younger (C. Buhler, 1933). Soon, however, enormous numbers of social factors enter; and these operate during the remainder of life to give each human that degree of dominance he will exhibit in each subsequent social situation. See also "An experimental study of ascendant behavior in preschool children" (L. M. Jack, 1934); "The modification of ascendant behavior in preschool children" (M. L. Page, 1936); "Domination and integration in the social behavior of young children in an experimental play situation" (H. H. Anderson, 1937a); and "An experimental study of dominative and integrative behavior in children of preschool age" (H. H. Anderson, 1937b).

The phenomenon of dominance overlaps and often becomes identical with rivalry. Both clinical and common observation show that rivalry exists in animals (T. Schjelderup-Ebbe, 1922; and C. N. Winslow, 1940) and in young children (E. V. Berne, 1930; P. J. Greenberg, 1932; E. A. Graves, 1937; and T. H. Wolf, 1938).

One of the best of the strictly experimental studies is that reported in *Experimentelle Massenpsychologie* (W. Moede, 1920). The willingness of boys twelve to fourteen years of age to withstand so-called "intolerable" pain when alone was compared with their willingness to do so in the presence of others. Willingness to withstand pain was greatest when pairs of boys competed. In a further study, Moede found that children of poor ability in various tests profited on the average relatively more from rivalry than did children of better ability, and that boys would squeeze more vigorously on a dynamometer in front of others and especially when paired with a competitor. But sweeping conclusions regarding the value of competition must not be drawn from the findings of such studies. Triplett has demonstrated scientifically what common sense has long suggested—that certain subjects may be so overstimulated by competition that their work suffers (N. Triplett, 1898). Studies that show that girls are less competitive than boys are of

local significance only. With a shift in attitudes girls might become the more competitive (F. Baumgarten, 1922). In "The influence of competition on performance: an experimental study" (I. C. Whittemore, 1924) Whittemore claims that quality of work is frequently adversely affected by competition and offers data to substantiate his claim.

In "Cooperation and competition: an experimental study in motivation" (J. B. Maller, 1929) it is rather clearly shown that competitive effects are greater when children choose their own competitors than when teams are selected for them. The intensity of motivation appeared to be related to the character of the work situation in the following order (from most motivation to least): (*a*) work for one's own sex, (*b*) for oneself, (*c*) for one's team, (*d*) for one's class, (*e*) for a group assigned by teacher. See also *Competition and cooperation* (M. A. May and L. W. Doob, 1937), *Memorandum on research in competition and cooperation* (M. A. May *et al.*, 1937); *Cooperation and competition among primitive peoples* (M. Mead, 1937), "A study of competitive and cooperative behavior by the short sample technique" (E. A. Graves, 1937), "Variability as a measure of competitive behavior" (J. Vaughn and E. Geldreich, 1938) and "The experimental psychology of competition" (J. Vaughn and C. M. Diserens, 1938).

Studies have been made that show the effects on level of performance of praise and blame, of verbal suggestions, of material rewards, and of knowledge of improvements in scores—all of which are closely related to rivalry. The findings of these studies are, on the whole, in line with common sense. But, insofar as each experimental situation tends to be relative, it is impossible to assess the comparative values of the various methods of stimulating achievement, except, perhaps, for particular social situations. Typical of the many articles in these fields are "An evaluation of certain incentives used in school work" (E. B. Hurlock, 1925), "Praise and censure as incentives" (T. H. Briggs, 1927); "The use of group rivalry as an incentive" (E. B. Hurlock, 1927), "Attitude in relation to learning" (E. B. Sullivan, 1927), "Practice versus motivation" (P. M. Symonds and D. H. Chase, 1929), "A preliminary experiment to quantify an incentive and its effects" (C. J. Leuba, 1930); "An experimental study of efficiency of work under various specified conditions" (P. A. Sorokin *et al.*, 1930), "Reward and punishment" (E. R. Guthrie, 1934), "The effect of verbal suggestion on output and variability of muscular work" (C. W. Manzer, 1934); and "A further study of the function of reward" (H. Wallach and M. Henle, 1942). For references on social facilitation and attempts to differentiate it experimentally from rivalry, see Appendix note 62; for references on level of aspiration, see Appendix note 31.

48. There is no test or rating scale that will automatically classify an individual as an introvert or an extrovert. Test scores fall along a reasonably "normal" curve, the peak of frequencies being at some mid-point, which one psychologist terms the "ambivert" region. The introvert and extrovert regions of the curve are merely the extremes or tails of the distribution. So far as the authors know, only one test of introversion is claimed to yield a bimodal (two-peaked) distribution curve (C. A. Neymann and K. D. Kohlstedt, 1929). A number of experimenters believe that this conclusion must have been reached through error, for none of them has found any bimodality in his own test data.

The psychoanalyst Jung is accredited with the introduction of the terms "introversion" and "extroversion" to psychologists, a number of whom, being test-minded, proceeded to construct a variety of tests based on some modification of Jung's ideas. Unfortunately, the several testers did not agree among them-

selves; and the various introversion-extroversion tests that have been developed do not correlate well one with another (R. M. Collier and M. Emch, 1938). The Guilfords, in fact, found that in a typical introversion test at least eighteen group factors appear to be involved (J. P. Guilford and R. B. Guilford, 1934). The most important of these factors have been labeled *D* (depression), *S* (shyness), and *T* (thinking of a meditative sort). Another factor, *A* (alertness), seems to be what Jung was attempting to measure (J. P. Guilford and R. B. Guilford, 1939*a*). None of these factors appears to be related to body form (W. B. Pillsbury, 1939).

In the construction of tests of introversion it has been a common practice to borrow items from existing questionnaires. One questionnaire that has been much used in this manner is the R. S. Woodworth *Personal data sheet* (S. I. Franz, 1919). Typical of the many paper-and-pencil tests now on the market are the following: Bernreuter's *B 3 I Scale* (R. G. Bernreuter, 1935); the McDougall items to measure introversion (R. W. George, 1936); the *Wisconsin scale of personality traits* (R. Stagner, 1937); the *Neymann-Kohlstedt diagnostic test for introversion-extroversion* (C. A. Neymann and K. D. Kohlstedt, 1929, and A. R. Gilliland and J. J. B. Morgan, 1931); the *Minnesota personal traits rating scales* (E. Heidbreder, 1926); and Conklin's *Study of likes and dislikes* (E. S. Conklin, 1927). Guthrie has offered a test of campus information or gossip as a possible measure of introversion (E. R. Guthrie, 1927; and F. B. Davis and P. J. Rulon, 1935). Marston has attempted to measure introversion both by questionnaires and by observations on nonsymbolic behaviors (L. R. Marston, 1925). Although the foregoing and other tests are still being used extensively, their validity is doubtful. In dealing with the practical problems of personality adjustment the tests are rarely found to be of value (G. S. Speer, 1936), although certain of their items are occasionally useful. At best, any single test can tap but a tiny area of life experience; and even that area is exclusively symbolic.

The traits of inadequacy and inferiority have been much discussed by the psychoanalysts. Although sexual difficulties, organ inferiorities, and other physical troubles have often been deemed causative factors, data of an experimental character are almost entirely lacking. But see "Organic inferiority and the inferiority attitude" (H. F. Faterson, 1931). Faterson found low but positive correlations between the total number of the subject's recorded physical defects and his inferiority rating. Some of the other tests of inferiority feeling are *Character sketches* (J. B. Maller, 1932); the *PN* (R. B. Smith, 1932); selected items (R. K. White and N. Fenton, 1932); the *Personal attitudes test for younger boys* (L. Sweet, 1929); and M. E. Smith's schedule (M. E. Smith, 1938). See also *The craving for superiority* (R. Dodge and E. Kahn, 1931) and *That inferiority feeling* (J. S. Hoyland, 1937).

For more general references on measurement see "The measurement of personality" (L. M. Terman, 1934); "Can the 'total personality' be studied objectively?" (P. E. Vernon, 1935); *Methodology of social science research: a bibliography* (D. C. Culver, 1936); "Quantitative methods in social psychology" (G. A. Lundberg, 1936), "Discussion [of Lundberg, Quantitative methods in social psychology]" (W. Waller, 1936); *The prediction of personal adjustment* (Paul Horst, 1941); "A technique for correlating measurable traits with freely observed social behaviors" (C. C. Peters, 1941); *The 1940 mental measurements yearbook* (O. K. Buros, 1941); "Applications of personality and character measurement" (J. W. M. Rothney and B. A. Roens, 1941); "Current construction and evaluation of personality and character tests" (A. E. Traxler, 1941); and *Social research* (G. A. Lundberg, 1942).

49. One of the earliest experiments in stereotyping was that reported in *Quantitative methods in politics* (S A. Rice, 1928) A list of descriptive terms including "premier," "financier," and "bolshevik" and nine photographs including those of a premier, a financier, and a bolshevik were presented to over one hundred students, who were asked to select the proper designation for each photograph There was considerable agreement among the students as to the designation to be attached to each of the several photographs, and the students agreed quite well ($r = .84$) with the members of a farmer's grange Unhappily, however, neither the students nor the grangers were correct in the designations For example, the bolshevik pictured had a Van Dyke beard, a winged collar, and a mustache (not of the wild and woolly kind), and this configuration was labeled United States Senator by many of the students and grangers. With essentially the same technique Litterer secured almost identical results (O F Litterer, 1933) See also "Judgments of occupations from printed photographs" (L Gahagan, 1933)

At the University of Nebraska the students' "teacher" stereotype was a person of "stern, dignified, reserved appearance" (K. H McGill, 1931)

That we train our children into the acceptance of stock stereotypes is well shown by Meltzer's study of 200 problem children (H. Meltzer, 1932) In answer to the question, "Who is the greatest man who ever lived?" 72 per cent gave the names of either Jesus, Washington, or Lincoln Sixty-four per cent gave the names of either Washington or Lincoln In answer to the question, "Who is the greatest man living?" 56 per cent of the votes were received by three names In view of the very large number of men who might have been named, such concentration on a very few is clear evidence that the replies to the questions were in the nature of stereotypes

The well-known fact that the typical voter casts his ballot for a party name—a stereotype—rather than for a party platform was ably demonstrated in a study of the voters of Centre County, Pennsylvania, in 1934 Although 55 5 per cent were anxious to support "a program of socialization with its promise of enhanced status to the working-class population and a corresponding reduction in the power of the privileged groups through a 'redistribution of wealth' "—the platform of the socialist party—that party polled very few votes Sixty-one per cent of the voters claimed to dislike the party—really the party name (G. W. Hartmann, 1936*b*, p 338) See "Fascist attitudes an exploratory study" (R Stagner, 1936*b*)

That the cartoon can be used to influence stereotyping is shown in "Cartoons as a means of social control" (E Hines, 1933) and "Shifts in attitude caused by cartoon caricatures" (R Asher and S S Sargent, 1941)

For a suggestion of Nazi attempts at stereotype building see "Pathological Nazi stereotypes found in recent German technical journals" (E. Lerner, 1942)

50. In a careful checkup of the claims of the older physiognomists, two investigators studied the relation of 122 physical measurements to such matters as intelligence, frankness, will power, judgment, ability to make friends, originality, leadership, and impulsiveness The correlations ran very close to zero (G U Cleeton and F B Knight, 1924). This does not mean, however, that we can get nothing from a study of the face. It can, for example, be shown that the relative position on a Binet intelligence scale of the members of a group of youngsters of the same chronological age, but of different mental age, can be estimated with some degree of accuracy Just what cues are operative in the judgments is not clear, although it appears that the eyes are more important than the mouth and that the expression of the face is more important than are its static measurements.

In the classes of one of the authors the pool of the estimates of a group of forty students invariably correlates with the ranking of the true mental ages of children whose photographs are viewed at about .56. The forecasting value of a correlation of even this size is not, however, great.

Husband has shown the fallacy that underlies the use of the photograph as an indicator of personality (R. W. Husband, 1934). The photograph is, however, commonly used in this way by many businessmen and by members of college-entrance boards.

For a survey of the work on the relation between physical and mental characteristics see *Physique and intellect* (D. G. Paterson, 1930).

Paterson and Ludgate have checked the pronouncements of the physiognomist Blackford about blondes and brunettes by asking each of ninety-four judges to select from his acquaintances two pronounced blondes and two pronounced brunettes and to rate them with respect to each of Blackford's so-called blonde and brunette traits. The results indicated that the percentage of brunettes thought to be possessing what Blackford claimed were blonde traits was approximately as large as the percentage of blondes thought to be possessing the allegedly blonde traits. Similar results obtained for the brunette traits (D. G. Paterson and K. E. Ludgate, 1922).

A. L. Evans correlated the precise degree of convexity of profile of each of twenty-five members of a university sorority with a series of character ratings (optimism, activity, ambition, will power, domination, and popularity). The average of her correlations was .01. The values ranged from −.27 to +.39 with relatively large probable errors.*

51. For a discussion of the long-standing attempt to classify body types into two or three categories see "The significance of the physical constitution in mental disease" (F. I. Wertheimer and F. E. Hesketh, 1926). Kretschmer was only following the tradition when he set up his pyknic and asthenic types (E. Kretschmer, 1925). His pyknic type possesses short legs, a thick neck, and a relatively barrel-shaped trunk; his asthenic or leptosomic possesses long extremities and a relatively small trunk. A subgroup of the latter is the athletic—people who have a more symmetrical development of limbs in relation to trunk. Another subgroup later added is the soft-athletic—people who are tense-muscled, angular, and wiry, with scanty fat and muscle (S. Behn and C. Ferveers, 1938). Finally there is the dysplastic type—those inconsiderate people who do not fit into any of the main categories. According to Kretschmer, sufferers from manic-depressive insanity (cyclothymes or circulars) are prone to be of the pyknic build, whereas those who are classified as schizophrenes (suffering from dementia praecox) are far more apt to be asthenics.

Although a number of investigators have thought that their data on insane and criminal populations substantiated Kretschmer's contentions at least to slight degree (E. M. L. Burchard, 1935), other investigators can find no relation between variety of psychosis and body type (E. F. Wells, 1938). One of the most extensive of the American studies on normal groups, "An experimental study of constitutional types" (O. Klineberg, S. E. Asch, and H. Block, 1934), failed to provide evidence that could be construed as favoring Kretschmer's views. Lack of evidence has not, however, prevented Kretschmer from developing a theory that embraces normal personality. Thus, according to his "system," those of our

* These data are reported by A. L. Evans in *Aptitude testing* (C. L. Hull, 1928).

poets who are realists and humorists fall into the category cyclothymes, whereas the pathetics, romantics, and formalists fall into the category schizothymes Similarly, of our leaders, the jolly organizers, the tough "whole-hoggers," and the understanding conciliators fall into the cyclothymic group, whereas the pure idealists, the despots, the fanatics, and the cold calculators fit into the schizothymic classification See also "The relationship between characteristics of personality and physique in adolescents" (P. S Cabot, 1938)

Another German type-psychology is that of Jaensch (E Jaensch, 1930) Quite well known is his work on eidetic (photographic) images—mental images so peculiarly vivid that the possessor feels them to be practically on the intensity level of his perceptions Jaensch has divided people who have such images into several subtypes—the *B* type, *T* type, etc —and has studied their peculiar biologies In the expansive manner of contemporary German philosopher-psychologists, Jaensch and his followers have attempted to explain a fair share of the world's cultural difficulties and differences on the basis of these subgroups (K Metelmann, 1934, K Rau, 1936, F Reuther, 1937; and W Héraucourt, 1938) Although a number of Americans have been interested from a research standpoint in eidetic imagery, they have not attempted to use imagery types as a basis for explaining all cultural and personality differences

The philosopher Spranger considers the following to be man's basic interests or motives in personality theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious (E Spranger, 1928). To find the relative prominence of these six categories among the members of the various socioeconomic groups, Allport and Vernon have constructed a standardized questionnaire (P. E. Vernon and G Allport, 1931) of 120 questions, 20 of which refer to each of the six values. For other studies on the Spranger types see "A study of Spranger's value-types by the method of factor analysis" (W A. Lurie, 1937), "The measurement of interest values" (E. M Glaser and J B. Maller, 1940), and "A factorial analysis of interests and values" (L W Ferguson, L G Humphreys, and F. W Strong, 1941) It should be noted that Spranger's typing is somewhat more realistic than that of Kretschmer

The psychiatrist H Rorschach has proposed a typology consisting of extratensive and introvertive types As tested these do not appear to overlap with either the major types offered by Jaensch (D Bryn, 1936) or the introvertive-extrovertive classes of Jung as measured by Guilford (G Brown, Jr , 1941)

The most recent outbreak of typology is described in *The varieties of human physique* (W H Sheldon, S S Stevens, and W B Tucker, 1940) In this system there are three first-order components—endomorphy, mesomorphy, and ectomorphy (roughly, the fat, the muscular, and the brainy) as well as several second-order variables. In their book the authors state their belief that correlations of considerable magnitude will be found between their type measurements and personality characteristics and promise a second volume in which the crucial data will appear See "A note on Sheldon's method for estimating dysplasia" (J Zubin and M Taback, 1941) and "The correlation between components of physique and scores on certain psychological tests" (I L Child and W H Sheldon, 1941).

See also "Personality tendencies and physique" (N W Morton, 1936); "Body form and success in studies" (W B Pillsbury, 1936), *Les types humains* (E Schreider, 1937), "Tipi psichici" (B Révész, 1938), "Suggestibility in different personality types" (B J Lindberg, 1940), and " 'Personality' differences as

described by invariant properties of individuals in action" (E. D. Chapple, 1940)

The attempt to separate people into two or more types has not been successful. The procedure involved in constructive typology is of a different order and gives much greater promise. A cluster of behavioral characteristics, regarded as an "ideal" type, is associated with a particular set of socioeconomic conditions. The investigator tries to locate somewhat similar conditions in other times and cultures and to find an approximation of his "ideal" type in operation. Let us take as illustration the following cluster of characteristics: a closely knit, out-group people whom the in-group members regard as penurious, extremely shrewd traders with Shylock characteristics. This cluster of characteristics or "ideal" type obviously fits the Jewish trader. It fits about equally well the Parsee trader of the west coast of India, the Chinese trader of the Dutch East Indies, the lace-selling Armenian peddler in America, the border Scot* of the sixteenth century who peddled his wares throughout northern Europe, and the Egyptian Greek of the seventh century B.C. Such a configuration of behavioral characteristics has been termed the "marginal trader" type (H. Becker, 1940, and H. E. Barnes, H. Becker, and F. Becker, 1940). The importance to social psychology of this sort of historical research rests in its clear demonstration that behavioral characteristics are not tied to a particular race but to a social setting.

52. Out of the mass of endocrinological researches there have emerged a few fairly well substantiated findings that bear on the subject of "types":

a. Associated with hyperthyroidism (oversecretion of the thyroid gland) are the symptoms of anxiety, restlessness, and emotional irritability that are often shown by those suffering from exophthalmic goiter. In *The physical basis of personality* (C. R. Stockard, 1931) Stockard has attempted to prove (with practically no evidence) that the hyperthyroid or linear type, showing early puberty and a dolichocephalic head, occurs in marine climates and along coastal plains.

b. Associated with hypothyroidism (undersecretion of the thyroid gland) are those low-intelligence conditions known as cretinism and myxedema. Cretinism, resulting in a particularly pudgy, stunted build, is a congenital condition. Myxedema is a somewhat similar hypothyroid condition that occurs in adult years and results in both mental and physical sluggishness.

c. Hyperpituitarism is associated with giantism (or gigantism) and acromegaly. Certain giants seem to have normal personalities, others to be lazy and self-satisfied. With those who are maladjusted, it is impossible to ascertain the relative responsibility of the endocrine glands and the environmental factors elicited by the giantism. The sufferer from acromegaly usually lacks initiative and is apathetic.

d. Hypopituitarism is associated with dwarfism. As with giantism, it is impossible to know whether the peculiarities of personality that are occasionally exhibited by dwarfs are conditioned by the glandular defect or by environmental factors.

e. Few physical "types" are found to be associated with malfunctions of the other glands of internal secretion. Mongolian imbecility is thought by some to be the result of a polyglandular disturbance, but little factual information is available. The eunuch, or castrated male, has been recognized as a type for centuries. Associated with his gonadal defect are a voice quality (important for many years

* Even today Jewish and Scottish jokes resemble each other in their stress on penuriousness and shrewdness.

in the church, since it allowed him to remain a soprano) and alterations of personality. One cannot, however, be certain that these alterations of personality are due even in large part to his glandular defect; for in most cultures the eunuch is set apart from his fellows and is subjected to quite different treatment

The endocrinological aspects of personality are discussed at some length by Campbell in *Human personality and the environment* (C. M. Campbell, 1934) A psychiatrist, Campbell attempts to view the interrelations of the organism not only with its internal but with its external environment See also "Endocrine function and personality" (D. J Ingle, 1935); *The tides of life the endocrine glands in bodily adjustment* (R G Hoskins, 1933), and Appendix note 14

53 The Samoan girl reaches and passes through adolescence without visible strain. In this society, puberty does not occur, as it does with us, at a time when the girl's life habits are in the process of being uprooted or when the girl is being forced to shift rapidly to new modes of behavior Although tremendous shifts occur, they take place some years before, and again some years after, but not during puberty (M Mead, 1928).

According to Brooks youngsters from sixteen to nineteen show a slightly greater tendency toward instability than do those from twelve to fifteen, who are closer to the onset of puberty (F D Brooks, 1929). This finding is contrary to the doctrines of the early educators of the G. Stanley Hall group, who believed that adolescence could be clearly differentiated from preadolescence by the appearance of various types of crisis behavior and that this behavior was of biological rather than social origin. In *The spiritual life* (G. A Coe, 1900), in *The psychology of religion* (E D. Starbuck, 1899), and in other sources are described the violent religious conversions that in the days of our grandfathers commonly took place around the beginning of the adolescent period More recent studies, notably those reported in *The psychology of religious awakening* (E T Clark, 1929), have shown that the old-fashioned type of sudden conversion is no longer associated with adolescence insofar at least as American youth is concerned.

A number of attempts have been made to verify the theory that girls tend to withdraw from social contacts—that they tend to develop a "negative phase" —shortly before menarche (H Hetzer, 1927). A fairly recent study (E B Hurlock and S. Sender, 1930) concludes that, when such a phase appears, environment and not the "soon to be reached condition of sex maturity" is responsible Girls from good homes seldom show such a phase

Using questionnaire techniques, Willoughby conducted research that led him to the conclusion that insofar as emotionality is concerned "the male trend is . . . more smooth than the female, which shows evidences of peaks of emotionality in early maturity and old age and relative freedom from emotionality in adolescence and middle life" (R R Willoughby, 1935, p 728)

The social factors that make for considerable adolescent difficulty in contemporary society have been studied from many angles and with rather uniform results See *Sex freedom and social control* (C. W. Margold, 1926); *The child and society, an introduction to the social psychology of the child* (P. Blanchard, 1928); *The child in America* (W I Thomas and D S. Thomas, 1928); *Adolescence studies in mental hygiene* (F. E. Williams, 1930); *Personality in its teens* (W R. Boorman, 1931); *Adolescent psychology* (A H. Arlitt, 1933); *Sex in childhood* (E. R. Groves, and G H. Groves, 1933); *Russia, youth, and the present-day world* (F E Williams, 1934), *Principles of adolescent psychology* (E S Conklin, 1935); "Sexuality in the second decade" (R R. Willoughby, 1937*a*); "Social distance in adoles-

cent relationships" (J. R. Runner, 1937); *Youth and sex: a study of 1300 college students* (D. D. Bromley and F. H. Britten, 1938); *Social psychology of adolescence* (E D. Partridge, 1938); "The California adolescent growth study" (H E. Jones, 1938); *Personality in formation and action* (W. Healy, 1938); "Evaluations of adolescent personality by adolescents" (C. M. Tryon, 1939); *The psychology of adolescence* (K. C. Garrison, 1940); *Emotion and conduct in adolescence* (C B Zachry and M. Lightly, 1940); "The problem of adolescence" (H. Yellowlees, 1940); *Predicting the child's development* (W. F. Dearborn and J. W. M. Rothney, 1941); "An analysis of adolescent adjustment problems" (E. M. Howard, 1941), and "A survey of recent studies in the measurement of personality, attitudes, and interests, of adolescents" (W U. Snyder, 1941). For an excellent general survey and extensive bibliography see M Van Waters' article "Adolescence" (*Encycl. Soc. Sci*, **1**, 455 459)

The new point of view concerning the origin of adolescent difficulty has led to an attack upon the sex ideals that are instilled in most of our children For an analysis of the problem of changing sex morality see M. A Bigelow's article "Sex education and sex ethics" (*Encycl. Soc Sci*, **14**, 8 13).

54. Possible declines in the physical capacities of older people are masked to some extent by the enhanced motivation that frequently appears. If there were some technique by which all age groups could be forced to work at their tasks with similar enthusiasm and persistence, age declines might be more pronounced than those now reported. It should be kept in mind, therefore, that what is called "capacity" (what the person can do) in accounts of differential age behavior is really "ability" (what he does do) It should also be remembered that laboratory findings frequently do not apply to practical problems, since laboratory and life situations are not comparable.

Early work on the ability of older people (F L. Ruch, 1933), the recent studies of Miles and his students (W. R Miles, 1939), and other studies (T. Weisenburg, A Roe, and K. E. McBride, 1935) all demonstrate that work decrements are to be expected in the majority of test situations after the twenties or thirties. The range of the individual differences in ability at any given age is, however, many times larger than the year-to-year decrement These studies give little support to the rationalizations of those businessmen who wish to retire their employees at fifty; the majority of decrements are not very large by that age and are frequently more than compensated for by other social and economic factors. The older man will, for example, probably be better satisfied with his job, be less likely to tire himself in social activities, etc.

Not all researchers, however, are so optimistic about the potentialities of the later middle-aged Gilbert, for example, considers that "the results tend . to support the contentions of those who insist on the necessity of a retirement age fixed in the sixties and those who refuse new employment to persons in the sixties" (J. G. Gilbert, 1935, p. 42).

Studies of differential age ability indicate that the extent of the decline for any given age depends upon the following factors: (*a*) the nature of the task, (*b*) the habits of the persons involved, and (*c*) the level of achievement under consideration (the point of reference), and, perhaps, still other factors. Ruch's data (F. L. Ruch, 1934) can be taken as illustrative of factor (*a*). Additional information on this factor has been obtained from experiments on young and old athletes (A Walton, 1932). Age decrements were found to be large for sports in which speed of movement was of major importance but were smaller for sports in which precision was of

main importance. See also "An investigation of reaction time in older adults, and its relationship to certain observed mental test patterns" (W Goldfarb, 1941) Comparisons of the intelligence scores made by young and old faculty members emphasizes the importance of good habits—factor (*b*)—in the preservation of abilities. Although the scores of the older faculty men were in general a trifle poorer than those of the younger men, the members of the older group actually scored higher on the synonym-antonym items (K Sward, unpublished data) Sorenson also has shown that adults who keep active intellectually suffer less decline in learning ability than do those who relinquish efforts to learn (H Sorenson, 1930) The operation of factor (*c*), the point of reference, is shown in a study of chess masters. A considerable age decrement appears when the matter is considered at the level of the chess masters' ability; age decline in the abilities of chess masters is, however, microscopic when viewed from the ability level of amateur chess players. Thus viewed by other chess masters, the oldsters have become appreciably poorer; but as viewed by ordinary chess players, their decline in ability can scarcely be noticed (P Buttenwieser, 1935)

Strong has found that young men tend to score on his *Vocational interest blank* somewhat as do scientists, whereas older men tend to score more as do Y.M C A secretaries and ministers In other words, young men tend to display, at least on paper, more interest in things, older men, more interest in people Strong has also found that likes, dislikes, interests, and ambitions, as measured by his interest test, change more between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five than between twenty-five and sixty-five years (E. K. Strong, Jr , 1931). See also *Adult interests* (E L. Thorndike *et al.*, 1935).

Watson claims that Methodist ministers over forty years of age are more "closed-minded" regarding Catholicism, modernism in religion, and revision of our moral standards than are younger Methodist clergymen (G. Watson, 1925) Harper reports that American educators aged thirty-five to forty-five are slightly more conservative in their social beliefs than younger members of the same profession (M H Harper, 1927). The validity of the Watson and Harper findings stands or falls on the validity of their questionnaire techniques From these data and from his own findings—that the aged encounter a relatively greater difficulty in learning those materials that demand a tearing down of old habits—Ruch concludes that in general conservatism increases with age and that this increase "would seem to be a part of the biological heritage of senescent man" (F L Ruch, 1934) See also *The relation of age of human adults to some aspects of the ability to do fatiguing muscular work* (R G Barker, 1934); *Adult abilities* (H Sorenson, 1938), *Problems of ageing: biological and medical aspects* (G V. Hamilton, 1939), and "Mental abilities at senescence: a survey of present-day research" (G Lawton, 1938*b*).

55. The sociopsychological significance of the physiological changes of adolescence arises from the fact that their appearance may force the adolescent into new patterns of behavior Although sex is not the simple, instinctive "drive" it was once thought to be, we must adapt ourselves to it in some way or another Sex is in the nature of a capacity, the use of which depends upon experience. It is not a hunger that leads the individual unerringly toward a single pattern of adjustment or that, if ungratified, inevitably results in mental instability. Sexual capacities can be largely ignored; they can be utilized in effective and gratifying ways; or they can become the basis for such psychological tensions as have led Freud to consider sex the primary fact of life. Society, rather than sex

itself, is the chief determinant of the uses to which the individual will put sexual capacities.

In some primitive communities, such as that of Lesu, adolescent behavior is highly institutionalized. The importance of reaching sexual maturity is impressed upon the youth by means of elaborate and often painful rituals. Of no special value in itself, the initiation rite marks the transition from childhood to maturity, breaks the individual's attachment to preadolescent associates and modes of conduct, and introduces him into the pattern of behavior that is demanded of the sexually mature adult. Since he has observed those who are a year or two older enter into adult status through the portals of the initiation rites, he takes it all as a matter of course and tends to accept the conventional pattern of sexual adjustment as natural and hence normal (H. Powdermaker, 1933).

The primitive initiation at the time of adolescence may or may not involve selection of a sexual mate or mates In some societies the youth's parents effectively guide him even to the point of picking out his wife Such was the case in our old patriarchal family, in which the individual exercised no "choice." Even today the practice of arranging marriages for their children is adhered to by the more conservative Chinese. Such systems, and our own as well, allow in the main little premarital sexual experimentation. Although it is probable that far too much has been made of the dangers of sexual incompatibility between husband and wife, mismating must occur with considerable frequency under such a system as ours.

In some societies, the adolescent is allowed a considerable period of premarital sex experimentation * Parents do not select the wives for their sons or the husbands for their daughters. Through trial and error, but within certain traditional limitations, adolescent boys and girls sort themselves out into compatible couples. Since in many societies no premium is put upon chastity, the psychological strains consequent upon this process are probably no greater than those incident to any form of undirected trial-and-error learning Some anthropologists have been so much impressed by the adequacy of the sexual adjustments achieved by primitives under these conditions that they urge civilized peoples to resort to this method of handling the problems of adolescence. Certain tendencies in this direction are, in fact, already discernible. But one would be bold, indeed, were he to attempt to predict how far this trend will proceed in our own land.

56. Idealists may cling to the delusion that the typical modern marriage is a beautiful and harmonious relationship between a man and a woman and, perhaps, their children. But it would appear that a considerable measure of distressing disharmony occurs. The supposed causes, consequences, and possible palliatives for marriage and family discord are discussed in the following *Sexual apathy and coldness in women* (W M. Gallichan, 1928); *What's wrong with marriage?* (G V Hamilton and Kenneth Macgowan, 1928), "Reconciliation of marital maladjustment. an analysis of 101 cases" (E. R Hixenbaugh, 1931); *The modern American family* (D. R. Young, ed., 1932b); "The relation of home background and social

* Descriptions of the trial-and-error selection of sexual mates in primitive societies will be found in *Coming of age in Samoa* (M. Mead, 1928) and in *Sexual life of savages in North Western Melanesia* (B Malinowski, 1929). For sharp contrasts in primitive systems of sex training see *Sex and temperament* (M. Mead, 1935). The general problem of the role of the child in various primitive societies has been treated in *The child in primitive society* (N. Miller, 1928).

relations to personality adjustment" (S. R. Cavan, 1934); *Personality and the family* (H. Hart and E. B. Hart, 1935); *Personality adjustment and domestic discord* (H. R. Mowrer, 1935); *The future of marriage in Western civilization* (E Westermarck, 1936); *Marriage and the family* (E R. Baber, 1939); *The family and its relationships* (E. R Groves, E. L. Skinner, and S. J. Swenson, 1941); and *Marriage* (E R. Groves, 1941).

During the past few years the problems of marriage have been studied through the use of questionnaires. Although the data suffer from the ills inherent in this tool, definite progress has been made. The data of two extensive cross-sectional* studies (L. M Terman *et al.*, 1938 and 1939; and E W. Burgess and L. S Cottrell, Jr., 1939) and one longitudinal study (E L. Kelly, 1941) all demonstrate the importance of personality factors in marital adjustment. In Terman's investigations scores on personality and social-background items correlated to the extent of .54 with marital happiness of husbands and .47 with happiness of wives; the sexual-adjustment questions yielded correlations of .49 with happiness both of husbands and wives. "The 10 background circumstances most predictive of marital happiness are:

1. Superior happiness of parents.
2. Childhood happiness.
3. Lack of conflict with mother.
4. Home discipline that was firm, not harsh.
5. Strong attachment to mother.
6. Strong attachment to father.
7. Lack of conflict with father.
8. Parental frankness about matters of sex.
9. Infrequency and mildness of childhood punishment.
10 Premarital attitude toward sex that was free from disgust or aversion" (L. M. Terman *et al.*, 1938, p. 372).

It is now clear that the personality characteristics associated with marital happiness determine aptitude for and are not a resultant of marriage. In other words, these characteristics are brought to, rather than produced by, marriage (L M. Terman, 1939; E. L. Kelly, 1939, and R. F. Winch, 1941).

Spouses resemble each other in most ways, the resemblance being great in attitudes and small in personality (M. Schooley, 1936; R. Hofstätter, 1937; R. Stagner, 1938; and H. M. Richardson, 1939). A number of other aspects of marital adjustment have also been attacked (J. Bernard, 1935; P. Popenoe, 1936, 1937*a*, 1937*b*, and 1938; W. McKain and C. Anderson, 1937; C. Kirkpatrick, 1937; L W. Ferguson, 1938*b*; R. R. Willoughby, 1936 and 1938; C. Landis *et al.*, 1940; J. L. Moreno, 1940*c*, M. Smith, 1941; B. Selby, 1941; and E. L Kelly, 1941).

57. The earlier studies of the relationship between delinquency and feeblemindedness, which yielded extremely high coefficients of correlation, have been superseded by more carefully controlled surveys It now appears that the better the controls, the more the relationship approaches zero. In fact, an examination of the best data to date shows that, when delinquents and nondelinquents are equated on the basis of age, parental background, etc., they tend to have very similar I.Q.'s (M. A. Merrill, unpublished data). See "Intelligence and delinquency" (H. M. Williams, 1940).

* In a longitudinal study the subjects are kept under observation for a long period of time; in a cross-sectional study they are contacted but once.

Factors of family life may of themselves play an important role in molding the child's personality in ways that are antisocial, as has been shown by the following studies: "The economic status of families of delinquent boys in Wisconsin" (M. G. Caldwell, 1931); "Parental conditions of Wisconsin girl delinquents" (K. Lumpkin, 1932); "Sibling position and juvenile delinquency" (R. F. Sletto, 1934); "Note on family position of certain delinquent boys" (R. S. Tolman, 1939); and "Family factors in the ecology of juvenile delinquency" (G. H. Barker, 1940).

But, in the main, it would appear to be a combination of unsatisfactory family circumstances and numerous antisocial external conditions that makes for the criminal personality. A criminal father may train his son or his daughter in criminal ways. It is apparently more common for the child to be forced by family circumstances to depend upon external and unregulated associations for his social development, as is indicated by most of the case studies of juvenile delinquency. See, for example, *Social factors in juvenile delinquency* (C. Shaw and H. McKay, 1931); *The delinquent child* (White House Conference, 1932); *Juvenile delinquency* (W. Reckless and M. Smith, 1932); *Facts about juvenile delinquency* (U. S. Children's Bureau, 1932); *One thousand juvenile delinquents* (S. Glueck and E. Glueck, 1934*a*); *Roots of crime* (F. Alexander and W. Healy, 1935); *Social determinants in juvenile delinquency* (T. E. Sullenger, 1936); *Preventing crime* (S. Glueck and E. Glueck, 1930); *New light on delinquency and its treatment* (W. Healy and A. F. Bronner, 1936); *Social treatment in probation and delinquency* (P. V. Young, 1937), *Later criminal careers* (S. Glueck and E. Glueck, 1937); *Personality and the cultural pattern* (J. S. Plant, 1937), *Brothers in crime* (C. Shaw *et al.*, 1938); *Youth tell their story* (H. M. Bell, 1938); *The clinical treatment of the problem child* (C. R. Rogers, 1939), *Juvenile delinquents grown up* (S. Glueck and E. Glueck, 1940); *Criminal youth and the Borstal system* (W. Healy and B. Alper, 1941); and *Delinquency control* (L. J. Carr, 1940).

Studies that use the case-history method are criticized in "Self-consciousness on the part of the interviewer and its dangers" (G. E. Kimble, 1928); in "Some difficulties in analyzing social interaction in the interview" (V. P. Robinson, 1928); and in a number of other articles. The dangers in taking a person's own interpretation of the reasons why he is as he is are great. But, when taken in conjunction with studies of the external setup—such as those reported in *Delinquency areas* (C. Shaw, 1929); *The taxi-dance hall* (P. G. Cressey, 1932); and "Delinquency areas in the Puget Sound region" (N. S. Hayner, 1933)—the personal case method should not be entirely misleading. In interpreting such reports, as much depends, however, upon the reader's capacity for human understanding as upon the critical insight of the one who recorded the behavior. It is difficult but necessary that both recorder and reader maintain a neat balance between the hard-boiled and the sentimental points of view; for the factors under consideration are far too complex to permit of objective, mechanical analysis that is free from the bias of personal interpretations.

58. In 1917 during World War I, R. S. Woodworth and his Committee on Emotional Fitness studied the symptoms of men who had difficulty in adjusting themselves to trying situations. From more than 200 questions originally considered, a list of 116 made up the so-called *Personal data sheet* (S. I. Franz, 1919). This questionnaire has since been modified in many ways and has appeared in part in many later tests. In fact, almost all modern adjustment inventories greatly resemble it. Perhaps the best known of the present tests of adjustment are *Personality schedule* (L. L. Thurstone and T. G. Thurstone, 1930); *The adjustment*

inventory (H M Bell, 1934); *The personality inventory* (R. G. Bernreuter, 1935; D. E. Super, 1942); and *The Humm-Wadsworth temperament scale* (D. G. Humm, 1942). A somewhat different type of adjustment questionnaire is *The Pressey X-O* or cross-out test (S. L. Pressey, 1921), on which the subject crosses out words that represent things he regards as unpleasant, wrong, worrisome, etc

No adjustment inventory can be taken at its face value. At best it serves to warn the personality adjuster of possible potential dangers and to furnish clues for him to follow. Many treatises have been published for and against the use of inventories (P. M. Symonds, 1934, J. E W. Wallin, 1935; L. F. Shaffer, 1936, W. C Olson, 1936; C. Landis, 1936; J. G. Darley, 1937; D. D. Feder and D. R. Mallett, 1937; N Keys and M. S. Guilford, 1937; R. Pintner and G. Forlano, 1937*b* and 1938; E L. Schott, 1937; F. McKinney, 1937 and 1939; P. R Farnsworth and L. W Ferguson, 1938; C. O. Weber, 1938; D. Spencer, 1938, C. I Mosier, 1938; D. W. Dysinger, 1939; R. A. Pedersen, 1940, K. Young, 1940; P. V. Young, 1940; and M. E Bonney, 1941).

Rating scales are often used in the attempt to measure lack of adjustment (R Wolf and H. A. Murray, 1937; T A. Langlie, 1937; S M. Harvey, 1938; M. M Lombardi, 1938; W. V. Bingham, 1939; and E. L Kelly, 1940). Sometimes used is a simple check list on which the presence or absence of the trait is to be noted A variation of the check-list method is the technique of having people and descriptions of idiosyncrasies matched (P. E. Vernon, 1936).

There have been a number of attempts to measure what has been termed emotional maturity—in a sense, the opposite of emotional instability. Three criteria of maturity have been employed--the tester's own view of what constitutes maturity, typical answers of older as opposed to younger children, and the presence of weak as opposed to strong emotions (as disclosed by examination of controlled diaries) The *Willoughby E M scale* (R R. Willoughby, 1932) is based on the first criterion; *The Pressey interest-attitude tests* (S. L Pressey and L C Pressey, 1933) on the second, and Stratton's controlled diaries (G. Stratton, 1926) on the third. Unfortunately, none of these three procedures yields data at all comparable to the data of either of the other two (P. R. Farnsworth, 1938*a*) We are thus in the semantic difficulty of giving the name "emotional maturity" to several different phenomena. See also "The concept of 'emotional age' and its measurement" (C O Weber, 1930) and "The emotional maturity of juvenile delinquents" (M A Durea, 1937)

A rather different approach to the study of instability is developing in sociometry (J. L Moreno, 1941*a*; H H. Jennings, 1941). Here, field observation (E D Chapple and C M. Arensberg, 1940) which is somewhat on the order of anthropological research is employed One phase of sociometry deals with the measurement of attraction-rejection between individuals * In a typical sociometric experiment, institutionalized girls were asked to choose their tablemates Changes were made in accordance with the choices, and from time to time the

*Lundberg has studied attraction-rejection patterns for an entire Vermont village He has linked these patterns to socioeconomic status, church membership, geographic location, and other variables (G. A. Lundberg, 1937; G. A Lundberg and M Lawsing, 1937; and G A Lundberg and M. Steele, 1938) A number of other investigators are engaged in what is essentially sociometric work (R. L. Schanck, 1938; W. I Newstetter, M. J. Feldstein, and T. M. Newcomb, 1938; and L D Zeleny, 1941*a* and 1941*b*).

procedure was repeated. Diagrams were made of the shifting patterns of friendship (H. Jennings, 1937). After such changes instabilities tended to be lessened

Moreno's psychodrama—or spontaneity stage—is a technique that appears to have considerable therapeutic worth. The patient is induced to act out his troubles, i.e., to project them into the character he makes of himself. If he resists participation in the psychodrama or needs more than one character, members of the staff of the institution assume his various dramatic roles for him and respond in terms of his delusional system (J. L. Moreno, 1940a, 1940b, and 1941b). The psychodrama has also been used with relatively "normal" individuals in attempting to resolve their marital tangles (J. L. Moreno, 1940c).

59. We know that the glands of internal secretion—adrenal, thyroid, pituitary, etc.—have a regulatory function and that this involves numerous effects upon the neural mechanism. From these facts, some endocrinologists have concluded that much—some seem to believe all—mental abnormality is traceable to glandular malfunctioning. In the reestablishment of glandular balance, either through the administration of glandular extracts or through the removal of diseased glands, they see the cure for mental disorders. But although the results of this endeavor are frequently remarkable, it would appear that glandular disorders are often as much the consequence as the cause of psychological abnormality. We are here, as is so often the case in the study of man and his society, dealing not with one-way cause-and-effect action but with interaction. Undoubtedly disease or accident may disturb the delicate balance of the endocrine system, and in turn this disturbance may provide an organic source for mental disorders. But glandular disequilibrium may also be an effect rather than a cause of psychological disturbance.

60. Lewin proposes three easily recognizable types of conflict situations that impel some sort of resolution (K. Lewin, 1935). Type I is the *approach-approach* situation in which the subject is torn between two attractions that are about equal in strength. In type II, *approach-avoidance*, the subject is both attracted to and repelled by the same person or object. Thus, the child may love his parents because he derives many of his comforts from them, and at the same time dislike them because they supply most of the don't's. His attitude toward his parents can be described as ambivalent. Type III* *avoidance-avoidance* occurs when the subject is forced to choose between two disliked situations. This type of situation is usually the most serious of the three, in that it tends to be followed by psychopathic behaviors

Type IV, a variant of type II, has been proposed by Hovland and Sears. It embraces situations "in which the organism faces two interlocking type II situa-

* Type III conflict situations have assertedly been produced with white rats (N. R. F. Maier, N. M. Glaser, and J. B. Klee, 1940). The rats are trained to react positively to (i.e., approach) certain stimuli and negatively to (i.e., avoid) others. After the two sets of habits are well established, the animal is presented with two avoidance stimuli and is forced to react positively to one of them. The "neurotic" seizures that sometimes follow these frustrating circumstances (a complicating factor occurs in that they sometimes follow jingling noises as well) resemble the behaviors of human psychopaths. These oddities of animal behavior are being compared with those of metrazol-induced seizures, the "spells" into which human psychotics are often thrown in an effort to create periods of lucidity during which the psychiatrist may better contact them (J. Sacks, N. R. F. Maier, and N. M. Glaser, 1941).

tions at once (e g , a man has two desirable appointments at the same hour, the neglect of either of which will produce punishment or disappointment)" (C. I Hovland and R. R. Sears, 1938, p 477).

During the past few years a considerable number of studies of conflict and frustration have been made The theoretical framework for those studies centering at Yale University is given in *Frustration and aggression* (J Dollard *et al.*, 1939) See also "Factors determining substitute behavior and the overt expression of aggression" (L. W Doob and R. R. Sears, 1939); "Minor studies of aggression: I Measurement of aggressive behavior" (R. R. Sears, C. I. Hovland, and N E Miller, 1940); "Minor studies of aggression: V. Strength of frustration-reaction as a function of strength of drive" (R R. Sears and P. S. Sears, 1940); "Minor studies of aggression: VI Correlation of lynchings with economic indices" (C. I. Hovland and R R Sears, 1940); "Individual differences in behavior resulting from experimentally induced frustration" (C. R. Adams, 1940); "Criteria of frustration" (S. H Britt and S Q Janus, 1940); "Experiments on motor conflict. II Determination of mode of resolution by comparative strengths of conflicting responses" (R R. Sears and C. I Hovland, 1941); "I. The frustration-aggression hypothesis" (N E. Miller, 1941); "II. Non-aggressive reactions to frustration" (R. R Sears, 1941); "III. Need-persistive and ego-defensive reactions to frustration as demonstrated by an experiment on repression" (S Rosenzweig, 1941); "IV. The frustration-aggression hypothesis and culture" (G Bateson, 1941); "V. The hostile act" (D. M. Levy, 1941); "VI. Frustration phenomena in the social and political sphere" (G. W Hartmann, 1941*b*); "VII. Deprivation, threat and frustration" (A. H. Maslow, 1941); and "Frustration reactions of normal and neurotic persons" (M Sherman and H. Jost, 1942)

61. The thesis that the incidence of psychological abnormality is fairly uniform from society to society and must, therefore, reflect some uniform biological inadequacy has derived from a number of apparent evidences. Winston (E Winston, 1934 and 1935) used the data that Mead had gathered from certain Polynesian groups to reverse Mead's conclusion and to show that the incidence of abnormality among these peoples was approximately the same as that among the people of rural America. A number of studies have led to the conclusion that neither war nor depression markedly affects the rates of functional psychoses in the United States or Great Britain (C. Landis and J. D. Page, 1938; J. S. Jacob, 1938; H. B Elkind, 1939; and R E. Hemphill, 1941). It is thought that, if there is any annual increase, it is very small (B Malzberg, 1938 and 1940).

But the use of anthropological data for comparative purposes is a doubtful procedure. The anthropological observations so far made that bear on the problem have been rather casual and unstandardized. Insofar as the anthropological investigator uses the particular cultural definition of abnormality, degrees of deviation from the norm that in our society would pass more or less unnoticed may in a particular society indicate definite abnormality. In a comparatively homogeneous population the slightest deviation stands out, whereas in our society the individual must be very "queer" indeed before he is socially considered to have crossed the vague line that distinguishes the normal from the abnormal.

Data supporting the idea that war and depression do not cause a marked rise in the incidence of abnormality in no wise disprove the view that the functional psychoses are in large part the result of maladjustment and that such maladjustment is fostered by social disorganization and continuing change. These data

are necessarily gathered from institutional sources;* and institutional facilities are limited, are usually operated at capacity, and are but slowly expanded. A considerable increase in the real incidence could occur without being reflected in institutional records. When there is too much pressure for admission to institutions, the standard of abnormality is likely to rise. Moreover, the sociopsychological interpretation does not make necessary a rise in the real incidence of abnormality during periods of war or other crisis. In view of the complex nature of social organization and the effects upon the individual of disorganization, it is quite within the range of possibilities that as many individuals are released from conflict situations by the advent of war or depression as are forced into such situations Furthermore, abnormal behavior is a delayed response. For all we now know, the abnormal fruits of the depression of 1929 1936 may not ripen for a decade or more, and those of World War II may not appear until we are well on our way to World War III.

The quantitative evidence that most strongly supports the view that social disorganization does foster abnormal behavior is that on the ecological distribution of abnormality within urban regions. The more disorganized urban areas (zones of transition) are said to have a very high incidence of abnormality. Although this evidence is subject to the limitations that were mentioned above, it suggests that some relation may exist between the degree of social disorganization and the incidence of abnormality. See "The ecology of the functional psychoses in Chicago" (H. W. Dunham, 1937); "Demography of urban psychotics with special reference to schizophrenia" (R. E. L. Faris, 1938); *Mental disorders in urban areas: an ecological study of schizophrenia and other psychoses* (R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham, 1939); "The ecological study of mental disorders" (S A. Queen, 1940); "Schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychosis, and socio-economic status" (C. Tietze, P Lemkau, and M. Cooper, 1941); "Alternative hypotheses for the explanation of some of Faris' and Dunham's results" (M. B. Owen, 1941); and the general discussion of the problem in *Mental conflicts and personality* (M Sherman, 1938).

62. The phrase "social effects" has occasionally been broadened to include effects elicited by the physical presence of others even when there is no cooperation or competition among the members of the group. Many experiments have been set up in an attempt to determine the relative amount of work obtained from subjects when in isolation and when in the presence of others. Isolation situations have been divided into those in which the subject is isolated but knows that others are working simultaneously on similar tasks in other places, and those in which the subject is psychologically as well as physically isolated—in which the subject works alone on a task no one else is doing anywhere at that particular moment (J. F Dashiell, 1930).

In his *Social psychology* (F. Allport, 1924) Allport claims that the social effects that appear in social situations in which rivalry is presumably reduced to a minimum are due largely to "social facilitation." Visual, auditory, and olfactory stimuli issuing from those near one may act to augment the major responses. It is proverbially difficult to work in a soundproof room in which the ordinary noises are eliminated. For we may have become so much habituated to these very noises, which we carelessly speak of as distractions, that we are "lost" without their contributory effects. These weaker stimuli strengthen the reactions

* Institutional records, poor at best, can give us little or no information as to the incidence of the psychoneuroses, as few "neurotics" are hospitalized.

elicited by the more important stimuli, much as a pinch, a loud sound, or a bright light that occurs at the instant the patellar area of the knee is tapped intensifies the knee-jerk Arguing on the basis of analogies of this sort, Allport suggests that the minor stimuli caused by the presence of others may induce increases in the amount of work normally accomplished.

In general, the processes that function in situations involving rivalry (see Appendix note 47) appear to operate, although perhaps less strongly, when an individual is at work in the presence of others. These effects, it will be recalled, include increases in the amount of work done, particularly when the task is routine and the subjects are of ordinary intelligence, and decreases in the quality of work accomplished. But, as we shall see, the social effects that appear in many social situations do not follow these perhaps oversimplified statements of the effects of rivalry. The numerous published conclusions concerning social facilitation must be for the present considered as tentative only. Many situations are so complex that they defy analysis. It is always possible that what appear to be the effects of social facilitation may in part be effects of rivalry, since in many instances it is impossible to know whether or not rivalry is involved. In fact, it may be that social facilitation is no more than mild rivalry.*

In "The dynamogenic factors in pace-making and competition" (N Triplett, 1898) and "Ueber Einzel- und Gesamtleistung des Schulkindes" (A. Mayer, 1903) precedents for a long series of studies by others were established Typical of the many studies that have yielded positive results are *Experimentelle Massenpsychologie* (W. Moede, 1920); "Mental work in isolation and in group" (N. N. Sengupta and C. P. N. Sinha, 1926); "De l'influence du groupe sur les fonctions de la mémoire" (D. Elkine, 1927); and "An investigation of ability to work in groups and in isolation" (N. P. Mukerji, 1940). But Krueger in "Note concerning group influence upon Otis S-A test scores" (W. C. F. Krueger, 1936) and Farnsworth in "Concerning so-called group effects" (P. R. Farnsworth, 1928) report little or no social facilitation in certain of their experimental situations—such, for example, as when testing the "college aptitude" of college students while they were alone and while they were in the presence of others. Moreover in "The comparative effects of social and mechanical stimulation on memorizing" (J. Pessin, 1933) Pessin reports that the social stimuli he used served as distracters.

"Isolation" has meant different things to various investigators, and some of the differences in test results may be traced to this fact. In certain of the experiments, the experimenter was present even when the subjects were supposedly "alone"; in others, the tests were self-administered In several of the experiments the subjects have been relatively ignorant of the test materials; in others, they were close to their physiological limits Certain investigators have used very intelligent subjects, others those of average intelligence, and still others dull subjects. And the factor of intelligence would seem to be an important one in that

* Katz and Schanck have taken issue with this notion and have presented evidence which they feel proves the possibility of separating rivalry and social facilitation. They point out that "individuals working alone have their competitive spirit aroused by the knowledge that others are busy at the same task" and that "individuals are . . . more highly motivated when actually confronted with their competitors than when working in isolation with a knowledge of competitors." (D. Katz and R. L. Schanck, 1938, p 294.) But these data, though interesting, would seem to the present authors to be beside the point.

ordinary subjects tend to show more social facilitation than do the very bright, who may even display work decrements. Being too rigid in their habits to adapt well to marked changes in their surroundings, very stupid subjects also may react poorly to being in a group (T. M. Abel, 1938 and 1939).

Other complications arise from the difficulty of obtaining adequate controls Let us suppose that the question is, "Do college students in general achieve higher scores on the *Thorndike intelligence examination for high school graduates* when they are given this test in isolation or under classroom conditions?" The novice would probably think his procedure adequate if he tested the members of a group in isolation and then retested them together in the classroom. But to one even moderately well trained in experimental methods, it will be evident that the subjects' familiarity with the test items will tend to favor the retest unless such familiarity is balanced by increased fatigue, boredom, or both.

To give form *A* of the test to a group of students in isolation and then to give them form *B* in the classroom might tend to favor the classroom situation (if fatigue and boredom are excluded), since the subjects should be more "test-wise" by the time form *B* is taken. Even though the items of the two forms are different, the procedures would be more or less alike. One must also prove that forms *A* and *B* are equally difficult for the group in question. As is inevitable when virgin ground is being opened for research, many of the earlier experimenters followed such inadequate procedures as have been outlined here.

A somewhat better procedure would be to use two groups of subjects. If these groups are very large and relatively unselected, they can be assumed to have equal abilities An added check could be made of their abilities by giving both groups form *B* and by making certain that the mean scores of the two groups on this form are roughly similar. A still better procedure would be to match subjects on form *B*, so that each person in the first group would have a matched mate in the second group who scored on form *B* as he did. Then if the members of one group could be tested in isolation on form *A* while the other group is tested in the group on form *A*, a fair but by no means perfect set of controls is in operation. A number of other procedures have been developed, but so far none is completely adequate in controlling all the numerous variables.

So far we have been considering the comparative performances of numbers of individuals working in isolation and in group situations. The question, "Does John Jones a specific individual do better on the *Thorndike* while in isolation or in the presence of a group?" is equally difficult to answer. The simplest procedure would probably be that in which John is given a large number of forms of the *Thorndike* in alternated order--form *A* alone, then form *B* in the group, next form *C* alone, form *D* in the group, etc. These should be given over a long period of time in order to avoid fatigue and ennui. The first few forms should probably not be scored, because to count them would be to ignore the factor of test wisdom, which increases rapidly at first. For additional consideration of the topic see "Experimental studies of the influence of social situations on the behavior of individual human adults" (J. F. Dashiell, 1935).

Allport (F. H. Allport, 1924, pp. 274-278) has maintained that a judgment made in the presence of a group tends to be less extreme than one made in isolation Allport's claim is based on experiments in which subjects judged several weights relative to two standard weights, one of which was heavier and one lighter than any of the weights to be judged In the presence of the group the subjects bunched their judgments; *i. e.*, when judged in the group, no one of the weights was thought

to be as near to either of the standards as it was when it was judged in isolation. This study has been checked under better conditions and found to be fairly sound statistically; see "A note on the attitude of social conformity" (P. R. Farnsworth and A. Behner, 1931). But whether or not this phenomenon is "social conformity," as Allport has claimed it to be, is not clear.

In "The influence of a social factor upon the appreciation of humor" (R E. Perl, 1933) Perl reports that, when presented visually to a group, jokes are judged to be funnier than when rated by a subject in private, and the funniest and least funny jokes are much farther apart.

Although certain researchers believe that social factors are operative whenever a number of individual judgments are forced into a single value, such is not the case Knight found that the average of the student estimates of the temperature of the classroom closely approximated the actual temperature; but that social factors were operative does not follow, nor does Knight presuppose that they were Each of the class members might just as well have made his judgment while alone in the room (H. C. Knight, 1921). From the Knight study two facts can be deduced—that the subjects were fairly well acquainted with the room temperature and that their errors of judgment were such that their ballot values varied about equally above and below the true temperature. But if some outside and little understood factor, such as unusual dryness or higher-than-average moisture content, had been present and had affected all subjects in a more or less similar manner, the errors would have been mainly in the same direction, with the result that the average of the judgments would not have approximated the true temperature

Such a situation has been demonstrated in experiments in which lifted weights were judged. The size-weight illusion effect was brought into the situation by the presentation of boxes of the same weight, but of varying size. It was found that the average of the judgment values did not approximate the true weights but varied above or below in accordance with the size-weight illusion principle In these experiments, then, the errors of judgment all tended in the same direction and so pushed the average of the judgments away from the true value (P R Farnsworth and M. F. Williams, 1936).

Several writers have also seized upon social factors as explanatory principles for Gordon's findings on the subject of pooling, which are reported in "Group judgments in the field of lifted weights" (K. Gordon, 1924). Gordon found that two large groups of subjects with comparable social backgrounds will agree quite well in their judgments on even such "subjective" items as the beauty of Oriental rugs. Picked at random, any given person may disagree violently with some other individual; yet the composite or pooled ranks that are given to a set of pictures of rugs by a large group of people will correlate very highly with those which are given to the same pictures by a second large group of people of roughly similar backgrounds The social factors in these studies are not social facilitation, rivalry, or cooperation, but are merely the results of similarities in the social antecedents of the various individuals. The ranks of the pooled ratings made by one hundred subjects from America will certainly not correlate well with those made by African primitives. See "A study of some social factors in perception" (M Sherif, 1935*a*); "Further observations on group judgments of lifted weights" (K. Gordon, 1936); "Group judgments in the fields of lifted weights and visual discrimination" (R. S Bruce, 1936); "Note on the reliability and the validity of the group judgment" (M G. Preston, 1938); "The validity of judgments as a function of the number of judges" (H. J. Eysenck, 1939); "The validity and reliability of group judgments"

(B. B. Smith, 1941); and "Reply: the validity and reliability of group judgments" (H. J. Eysenck, 1941).

The fact that most subhuman animals (even bacteria and plants) live to some extent in a "social atmosphere" even though their "language" behavior is non-existent or very small is made much of in *A handbook of social psychology* (C. Murchison, ed., 1935a), eight of whose twenty-three chapters are devoted to what are designated as nonhuman social situations. The more recent animal studies yield data similar to those obtained on humans; social facilitation (or perhaps rivalry) is found in some social situations, *e.g.*, when certain animals are fed together (H. F. Harlow, 1932), but not in others. See "The effect of the presence of a second animal upon emotional behavior in the male albino rat" (E. E. Anderson, 1939) and "The social facilitation of locomotor behavior in the albino rat" (W. M. Lepley, 1939).

For examples of excellent studies of other aspects of animal social behavior see "A field study of the behavior and social relations of howling monkeys" (C. R. Carpenter, 1934); "A field study in Siam of the behavior and social relations of the gibbon (Hylobates lar)" (C. R. Carpenter, 1940); *The beginnings of social behavior in unicellular organisms* (H. S. Jennings, 1941); and "Social organization in insects, as related to individual function" (T. C. Schneirla, 1941).

63. Illustrations of the various points made in the discussion of institutionalized situations in the text have been drawn from many sources: historical, anthropological, and sociological. The following references, in addition to those already given, may help to provide an understanding of the institutional practices of some one people or of the different institutional patterns of different peoples:

Primitive Societies:

The Veddas (C. G. Seligman and B. Z. Seligman, 1911).
Argonauts of the western Pacific (B. Malinowski, 1922).
Crime and custom in savage society (B. Malinowski, 1926).
The material culture and social institutions of the simpler peoples (L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg, 1930).
Rebel destiny (M. J. Herskovits and F. S. Herskovits, 1934).
Our primitive contemporaries (G. P. Murdock, 1934).
Savage civilization (T. H. Harrisson, 1937).
A black civilization: a social history of an Australian tribe (W. L. Warner, 1937).
Primitive behavior: an introduction to the social sciences (W. I. Thomas, 1937).
The Baiga (V. Elwin, 1939).
An introduction to cultural anthropology (R. H. Lowie, 1940).

Ancient Societies:

The Aryan household (W. E. Hearn, 1891).
The life of the ancient Greeks (C. B. Gulick, 1903).
The Greek commonwealth (A. E. Zimmern, 1911).
Social life in ancient Egypt (W. M. F. Petrie, 1923).
Roman society in Gaul in the Merovingian age (S. Dill, 1926).

Medieval Society:

The English village community (F. Seebohm, 1896).
History of civilization in Europe (F. P. G. Guizot, 1897).
The growth of the manor (P. Vinogradoff, 1905).
Life on a medieval barony (W. S. Davis, 1923).

Chinese Society:

Village and town life in China (Y. K Leong and L K. Tao, 1924).
Chinese political thought (E. D. Thomas, 1927).
China yesterday and today (E. T. Williams, 1929).
The Chinese, their history and culture, vol. II (K. S. Latourette, 1934).

Considerable portions of the materials of sociology, economics, and political science are, of course, descriptive of contemporary American institutions; but the following may prove a good starting point for the student who wishes to explore this field: *Middletown* (R S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, 1929); *Small town stuff* (A. Blumenthal, 1932); *Contemporary American institutions* (F S. Chapin, 1935); and *Middletown in transition* (R. S Lynd and H. M. Lynd, 1937).

64. For some years F. H. Allport has been bothered by the traditional procedure of treating mores, customs, and social habits in an all-or-none fashion as though there were only two possibilities of behavior—to conform or not to conform * A more realistic treatment, he believes, would be to regard conformity measurements as falling along some continuum. Accordingly he proposes two major types of continua, the empirical and the nonempirical or telic (F. H Allport, 1934). In empirical continua the measuring units are those typical of the physical sciences If we wished to plot data having to do with reaching eight-o'clock classes on time, we should thus employ the ordinary temporal units of minute or several-minute intervals. The curve for a college population would resemble two J's placed back to back, hence the name "double J" given to it by Allport. A very few students would be found to arrive 25 minutes early, a few to arrive 20 minutes ahead of time, more 15 minutes ahead of time, still more 10 minutes early, and so on until a high point or mode is reached. Beyond this point fewer and fewer will be arriving. Allport describes the typical curve as unimodal, likely to be off center (skewed), and steep (F. H. Allport, 1939). One researcher, however, claims that certain of his empirical conformity curves are normal rather than double-J in form (G. J. Dudycha, 1937).

Conformity data may also be plotted along nonempirical or telic continua. Telic units are in terms of the degree of fulfillment of an end or purpose, *e g*, arriving at eight-o'clock classes on time, a little late, very late, etc For the actions in question to be labelled conformity behavior, 50 per cent or more of the cases must fulfill the institutional purpose, whether it be arriving at an engagement on time, obeying the traffic policeman at the street corner, or the like A telic continuum is in the shape of a single J (or a J reversed) For a description of the complicated manipulations necessary to change empirical distributions to telic distributions, see "Lengths of conversations. a conformity situation analyzed by the telic continuum and J-curve hypothesis" (F H. Allport and R. S Solomon, 1939).

To illustrate the J curve, one of the present authors (Farnsworth) has gathered data similar to some collected by Allport The data contrast the behaviors of auto drivers at two different crossings—the first, a crossing of two equally important streets in a residential area that is unguarded by stop signs, lights, or policemen; and the second, a crossing guarded by stop signs and occasionally by a

* Perhaps the sociologists and certainly the anthropologists of a half century ago did actually treat cultural conformity in this all-or-none fashion No reputable contemporary sociologist or anthropologist would, however, think of doing so

policeman. Of 100 cars that arrived at the unguarded intersection, 1 stopped completely, 21 slowed up considerably, 65 slowed up a little, 12 went on as before, and 1 speeded up. Of 100 cars that arrived at the second crossing, 74 cars stopped completely, 20 slowed up considerably, 5 slowed up a little, 1 went on as before, but none went faster. When a policeman, leaning on his motorcycle, observed the cars at the guarded crossing, 98 stopped completely, 1 slowed up appreciably, and 1 (later arrested) slowed up only a little. Here was conforming behavior that fitted the J-curve hypothesis.

Another of the many situations in which Allport's J-curve hypothesis appears applicable occurs in the field of sex. When sex behavior is not strongly institutionalized, i.e., when it is left relatively free and unregulated, individual differences are distributed rather normally, but when sex behavior is highly institutionalized a mode appears at one end of the distribution (O. L. Harvey, 1935). See also "The J-curve hypothesis: certain aspects clarified" (M. Dickens and R. Solomon, 1938); "The J-curve hypothesis, a reply to Dickens and Solomon" (G. J. Dudycha, 1939); "Further theoretical considerations of the J-curve hypothesis" (R. S. Solomon, 1939); "Normative collective behavior, a classification of societal norms" (J. Bernard, 1941); "Conforming behavior and the J-curve hypothesis" (F. Fearing and E. M. Krise, 1941); and "The J distribution as a measure of institutional strength" (R. H. Waters, 1941).

65. Until quite recently there have been no experimental data on the subject of rumor. The studies reported below appear, however, to furnish a good basis for further research on this subject. In the experiments reported in "Experimental studies of the influence of social situations on the behavior of individual human adults" (J. F. Dashiell, 1935), subjects were conducted into a room where they observed the activities of other subjects already present and those of the experimenter. These "original observers" wrote out full accounts of all that they had seen and then passed their written accounts on to "secondhand observers," etc. After passing on his account, each person was given an interrogatory. The accounts and interrogatories were scored in terms of units of the story. Certain of the subjects were retested in 7 days and others in 9 days. The secondhand witnesses were found to have about 60 per cent of the "testimony capacity" of the firsthand observers, and the thirdhand observers to have only a little more than 40 per cent of the capacity of the firsthand observers. The retention experiments showed the following figures: original observers, an assumed 100 per cent; secondhand observers, about 60 per cent (7-day) and 40 to 51 per cent (9-day), thirdhand observers, 44 per cent (7-day) and 30 to 40 per cent (9-day)

In the experiment reported in "A tentative study in experimental social psychology" (C. Kirkpatrick, 1932), observers were presented with headlines, some of which referred to pleasant news and some to unpleasant and bad news. In their retellings of it the observers did not show a readier acceptance of the unpleasant items or a wishful distortion of the news. The preface "It is rumored that" was, however, usually eliminated from those items to which it was attached.

In a British study, reported in *Remembering* (F. C. Bartlett, 1932), subjects were asked to observe a variety of materials. After an interval of from 15 to 30 minutes, the subjects were asked to reproduce in writing what they had seen. These written reports were viewed and reproduced by a second set of subjects, the written reports of the second set of subjects by a third, etc. In the course of this artificially constructed "rumor spread," there appeared certain fairly definite

changes, such as omissions, transformations, and biases toward the concrete and away from deductions, opinions, etc.

Continuing these memory studies, Northway found that the changes that appeared in recalled materials tended to be away from the unfamiliar toward the familiar and away from the less meaningful toward the more meaningful (M. L. Northway, 1936). That attitude also affects memory is shown by the fact that in recognition experiments pro-Negro subjects will recognize more pictures of Negroes than will anti-Negro subjects (V. Seeleman, 1940).

66. An indirect experimental approach to the sociopsychological processes involved in the functioning of committees is reported in "Some psychological aspects of committee work" (E. B. South, 1927). Majority decisions on four types of problems were asked of the subjects who served as committee members South tried to find the size of the group and the personality and sex mixtures that were most adequate for committee work. He concluded that small groups are better with material that lends itself to prompt formulation of opinion, whereas large groups function better with material for which many hypotheses are needed; that committees composed entirely of one sex are more efficient than those composed of both sexes; and that introverts and extroverts are equally good with abstract material, although the latter are better on personal and concrete problems

Other studies on work of a cooperative nature are reported in "Experimental sociology: a preliminary note on theory and method" (L. J Carr, 1929); *A study of mental work done by consulting pairs* (J. F. Bursch, 1927); "A comparison of group and individual performance at certain intellectual tasks" (G. Watson, 1929*a*), "A comparison of individuals and small groups in the rational solution of complex problems" (M. E. Shaw, 1932); "An experimental study of the modification of social attitudes" (C. Kirkpatrick, 1936*a*); "On what type of task will a group do well?" (R. L Thorndike, 1938*a*); and "Cooperative versus solitary problem solution" (R. W. Husband, 1940). Since these studies are pioneering in character, no far-reaching conclusions are warranted. Bursch's work shows that on certain tests the composite score made by two people working together is better than the score made by the brighter one working alone. The duller subject can often answer questions which the brighter cannot. Kirkpatrick's findings indicate that a committee of mixed sex may achieve a compromise midway between the divergent attitudes of the two sexes. Thorndike's data seem to support the hypothesis that group superiority in mental work is greater when the materials permit a large range of response.

Since 1921 many articles have appeared concerning the effects on judgment of knowledge of majority opinions, expert opinions, and opinions of well-known, well-liked, or particularly dominant people. The effects are often striking and are rarely, if ever, contrary to what common sense would have suggested See the following: "The comparative influence of majority and expert opinion" (H. T. Moore, 1921); "Change of individual opinion to accord with group opinion" (D. Wheeler and H. Jordan, 1929); "Prestige as a factor in attitude changes" (C. E. Arnett, H. H. Davidson, and H. N. Lewis, 1931); "Social influences in the change of opinion" (A Jenness, 1932); "The comparative susceptibility of three age levels to the suggestion of group versus expert opinion" (C H Marple, 1933); "Halo prestige" (A. O. Bowden, F. F Caldwell, and G. A. West, 1934); "The induction of opinion through suggestion by means of 'planted content'" (A D. Annis and N. C. Meier, 1934); "The degrees of acceptance of dogmatic statements

and preferences for their supposed makers" (M. Saadi and P. R. Farnsworth, 1934); "An experimental study of stereotypes" (M. Sherif, 1935b); "Prestige, suggestion, and attitudes" (I. Lorge and C. C. Curtiss, 1936); "A comparison of collective and individual judgments of fact" (H. Gurnee, 1937); "The effect of discussion upon the correctness of group decisions, when the factor of majority influence is allowed for" (R. L. Thorndike, 1938b); "Experimental modification of children's food preferences through social suggestion" (K. Duncker, 1938); and "An experiment in the measurement of social interaction in group discussion" (D. C. Miller, 1939).

The legal aspects of the committee situation, especially as seen in the jury, were considered experimentally as early as 1914 and reported in *Psychology and social sanity* (H. Münsterberg, 1914). Among the publications since that time are: "Studies in testimony" (W. M. Marston, 1924); *Legal psychology* (H. E. Burtt, 1931); "An experience in identification testimony" (H. B. Brown, 1934); *Law and the lawyers* (E. S. Robinson, 1935); and "The psychology of testimony" (W. Stern, 1939). Dashiell concludes that "a jury as a whole will give more complete and more accurate account on a definite number of details than an average individual juryman" (J. F. Dashiell, 1935, pp. 1135-1140).

For further references on the committee and the conference see: *The process of group thinking* (H. S. Elliott, 1928); *International conferences* (J. W. Parkes, 1933); *Creative discussion* (A. D. Sheffield, 1933); *The art of conference* (F. Walser, 1933); and *The principles and methods of discussion* (J. H. McBurney and K. G. Hance, 1939).

67. The development of polling services, national and even international in scope, has been of great importance to social psychology. Having started in a small way with attempts to forecast election returns, these services are now, as one expert expresses it, "taking the pulse of the nation" (G. Gallup and S. F. Rae, 1940). In the early days, little attention was paid to the form of the questions, and all data were gathered through the mails. Indeed, it took the sensational failure of the *Literary Digest* polling service (which predicted a Republican victory in the Presidential election of 1936) to prove that the mere flooding of the mails with tons of straw ballots did not guarantee that the returns would be typical of the future actual ballots of the voting public. In place of sending out ballots by mail, personal interviews are now used.

The modern poller pretests his questions by trying them out beforehand on a small part of the population that is presumably typical of the larger population that he later expects to contact (R. F. Sletto, 1940, H. Cantril, 1940a; A. B. Blankenship, 1940a, 1940b, 1940c, and 1941; J. G. Jenkins, 1941; G. Gallup, 1941; and D. Rugg, 1941). He chooses his interviewers with care, knowing that, if they are careless or poorly trained, they may influence the trend of the poll (A. B. Blankenship, 1940d). The principles followed in selecting the persons to be interviewed have been chosen only after considerable experimentation, for proper weighting schemes spell the difference between success and failure (G. Gallup, 1938; E. Roper, 1940 and 1941; and editors of *Fortune*, 1940).

For discussions of the 1936 attempts to forecast Presidential figures, see "Public opinion polls" (D. Katz and H. Cantril, 1937); "Straw polls in 1936" (A. M. Crossley, 1937); and "The validity of mail-ballot polls" (D. Cahalan and N. C. Meier, 1939). The 1940 election predictions are discussed in "Gallup and *Fortune* polls" (Anon., 1940 and 1941) and in "The public opinion polls and the 1940 election" (D. Katz, 1941). See also "The reliability of public opinion surveys"

(L. Warner, 1939); "Editors' attitudes toward opinion polls" (N C. Meier, 1939); "Polls and the science of public opinion" (F. H. Allport, 1940*a*); "America faces the war: a study in public opinion" (H. Cantril, 1940*b*), "Representative sampling and poll reliability" (S S. Wilks, 1940); "Three criteria· knowledge, conviction, and significance" (D Katz, 1940), "Studies in secret-ballot technique" (L. E. Benson, 1941); "A comparison of the Gallup and *Fortune* polls regarding American intervention policy" (R. Stagner, 1941*b*); and "Do the Gallup polls measure opinion?" (L Rogers, 1941).

A modified form of the polling technique, known as the panel, has recently appeared. A number of people who are judged to be typical of some larger group are chosen for repeated interviews. *Fortune*, for example, has selected a panel of corporation heads as representative of big business. So far the panel plan shows considerable promise (P. F. Lazarsfeld, 1940*a* and 1941) See also "Effects of repeated interviews on the respondent's answers" (F. L Ruch, 1941).

68. In the eighteenth century the phrase "public opinion" was coined to suggest that leaders under a democratic system of government must be quickly responsive to the wishes (opinions) of those whom they lead (the "public"). During recent years, there has been interminable controversy over the question of whether public opinion is a creator or a creation of political leadership. See, for example, *Public opinion* (W Lippmann, 1922); *The phantom public* (W Lippmann, 1925); and *The American public mind* (P H. Odegard, 1930)

At least some of the confusion arises from faulty conceptualization. Political scientists and journalists particularly are prone so to personify the "public" that they lose sight of the fact that it is an abstraction. That there is an expression of public opinion at election time cannot be questioned, but that there is at any given time a single opinion toward public matters that is held by all, or even by a majority of, people is extremely doubtful.

See W Bauer's "Public opinion" (*Encycl Soc. Sci.*, **12**, 669–674), *The public mind* (N. Angell, 1926), *Readings in public opinion* (W. B Graves, 1928); "The concept of public opinion in the social sciences" (R. C. Binkley, 1928); "Manipulating public opinion" (E L. Bernays, 1928*a*), "Sudden changes in group opinion" (E. H. Paget, 1929); "Public opinion from a behavioristic viewpoint" (G A. Lundberg, 1930); "Local option and public opinion" (C. H Wooddy and S A. Stouffer, 1930); "Some interpretations of public opinion" (V. R Sedman, 1932), *Public opinion and world politics* (Q Wright, 1933); "A reference guide to the study of public opinion" (H. L Childs, 1934); *Public opinion* (W Albig, 1939); and *An introduction to public opinion* (H L. Childs, 1940)

69 Few terms used by social psychologists are as highly subjective as is "propaganda." Despite efforts to find an objective psychological criterion upon which to divide conversion pressures into those which are educational and those which are propaganda, the terms "education" and "propaganda" seldom signify more than that the user approves of those pressures to which he attaches the former term and disapproves of those to which he attaches the latter. There is, so far as the authors can see, no objective psychological criterion by which to distinguish a mother's persuading her child to behave "properly" from a newspaper editor's distorting news reports to serve his particular political bias Such distinctions as rational versus irrational appeals, unselfish versus selfish appeals, and apparent source versus hidden source are neither factually nor conceptually sound Because of the difficulties of separating facts from nonfacts, the distinction between fact and nonfact cannot be used to differentiate education from propaganda There

is, however, a valid and significant qualitative distinction between those pressures (whatever their psychological character) which operate to bring a social minority into the behavior norms of the majority and those which are efforts of a minority to convert a majority. The former might well be termed education; the latter, propaganda (R. T. LaPiere, 1935).

The phrase "social pressures" is frequently used to indicate the totality of propagandistic efforts that impinge upon the individual and to distinguish them from other social forces that operate to bring the individual into line with the norms of social conduct. The sources of propagandistic pressures, minorities who are interested in acquiring dominance over the majority in political, economic, or social affairs, have been termed "pressure groups." For a history of such efforts and an excellent bibliography see R. M. MacIver's article "Social pressures" (*Encycl. Soc. Sci.*, **12**, 344–348).

Both voters and college students seem more affected by "emotionally"—dramatically—written appeals than by "rationally"—prosaically—written ones. At least the "emotional" leaflets had the greater appeal in an election at Allentown, Pa., in 1935 (G. W. Hartmann, 1936b). And "emotional" editorials favoring one side or another of a controversial issue were the more effective with college students (S. C. Menefee and A. G. Granneberg, 1940). Data so far gathered suggest that, when both sides of a rather academic controversial issue are listened to, already existing prejudices will be intensified. If, however, the issue is regarded as close to reality, more open-mindedness is likely to follow (R. L. Schanck and C. Goodman, 1939). In reacting to speeches of a neutral character, each listener tends to regard both the speaker and the contents of the speech as favorable to his own position (A. L. Edwards, 1941a).

See "An experimental comparison of the speech, the radio, and the printed page as propaganda devices" (W. H. Wilke, 1934); "How America became belligerent: a quantitative study of war news, 1914–17" (H. S. Foster, 1935); "How to detect propaganda" (Anon., 1937); and "Detecting and analyzing propaganda" (A. Jewett, 1940).

For references on propaganda, see the following and those listed under the heading of censorship: *A catalogue of Paris Peace Conference delegation propaganda in the Hoover War Library* (Stanford University, 1926); *Propaganda technique in the World War* (H. D. Lasswell, 1927); *Propaganda* (E. L. Bernays, 1928b); *Bibliography on censorship and propaganda* (K. Young and R. D. Lawrence, 1928); *The public pays: a study of power propaganda* (E. H. Gruening, 1931); "Propaganda and education" (W. W. Biddle, 1932); *The propaganda menace* (F. E. Lumley, 1933); *Artists in uniform* (M. Eastman, 1934); *Foreign relations in British labour politics* (W. P. Maddox, 1934); *Mobilizing for chaos* (O. W. Riegel, 1934); *The Cuban crisis as reflected in the New York press* (1895–1898) (J. E. Wisan, 1934); "Pressure groups and propaganda" (H. L. Childs, 1935); *Propaganda, its psychology and technique* (L. W. Doob, 1935); *Propaganda and promotional activities* (H. D. Lasswell, R. D. Casey, and B. L. Smith, 1935); *Road to war: America 1914–1917* (W. Millis, 1935); *Propaganda and the news* (W. Irwin, 1936); *Group leader's guide to propaganda analysis* (V. Edwards, 1938); *Words that won the war: the story of the Committee on Public Information*, 1917–1919 (J. R. Mock and C. Larson, 1939); *Conquering the man in the street: a psychological analysis of propaganda in war, fascism, and politics* (E. Freeman, 1940); *Political propaganda* (F. C. Bartlett, 1940); *War propaganda and the United States* (H. Lavine and J. Wechsler, 1940); "The psychology of propaganda" (R. Money-Kyrle, 1941); "Literature on propa-

ganda technique and public opinion" (B. L. Smith, 1941); and "The 'danger' of propaganda" (E. Kris, 1941).

70. Dunlap has proposed the rather general "rules" of propaganda that are given below (by permission of the author and the publisher):

"1. If you have an idea to put over, keep presenting it incessantly. Keep talking (or printing) systematically and persistently.

"2. Avoid argument as a general thing. Do not admit there is any 'other side'; and in all statements scrupulously avoid arousing reflection or associated ideas, except those which are favorable. Reserve argument for the small class of people who depend on logical processes, or as a means of attracting attention of those with whom you are not arguing.

"3. In every possible way, connect the idea you wish to put over with the known desires of your audience. Remember that wishes are the basis of the acceptance of ideas in more cases than logic is.

"4. Make your statements clear, and in such language that your audience can repeat them, in thought, without the need of transforming them.

"5. Use direct statements only when you are sure that a basis for acceptance has already been laid. Otherwise, use indirect statement, innuendo, and implication. Use direct statement in such a way that the attention of the audience shall be drawn to it sufficiently to take it in, but not sufficiently to reflect upon it.

"6. For the most permanent eventual results, aim your propaganda at the children, mix it with your pedagogy. Follow the example, in this respect, of the successful propagandists of the past." (K. Dunlap, 1934, pp. 360–361.)

71. The advertiser must cast his product in the role of hero and his potential customer in the role of heroine; almost as frequently he must fabricate a villain for the hero to pursue. But, as is indicated in the following news report (reproduced by permission), during times of actual social crisis the villains of the advertisers' dramas become by comparison pleasant household pets:

"Years of threats, appeals, persuasions by advertising men had almost convinced the U.S. citizen that he had halitosis, dandruff, fallen arches, falling hair, worn-out furniture, out-of-date bathrooms, obsolete washing machines and ineffective tooth paste in his inferior home, at his side an inferior wife whose hands were dish-pan red, whose linen was tattle-tale-grey, and who would be left in want when he was run over by a car with inferior brakes.

"But war agencies have superseded the advertising men. For many months U.S. citizens have been taking daily doses of strong medicine from Washington: warnings, threats, appeals, horror stories, stern advice devised to wake a man up to the dangers of World War II, to arouse his patriotism, make him work longer hours, buy defense bonds, write his Congressman, give up luxuries, hand over his wife's kitchen aluminum; to fork out for the Community Chest . . . to pay more taxes, use less gasoline, strike less often, have his wife go without silk stockings. . . .

". . . The Average Citizen, his breath dubious, dandruff scales on his shoulders, his feet hurting, his son in the Army, his paycheck riddled by taxes, charities and higher prices, his dinner cold and leftover because his wife was out British-Bundling or Red-Crossing, picked up his newspaper, mechanically noted that, as usual, things would soon be worse, and turned to the football scores" (*Time*, Nov. 24, 1941).

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